

BATAVIA ILLUSTRATA:

Or, a VIEW of the

POPE, and COMMERCE,

OF THE

United Provinces:

Particularly of HOLLAND.

WITH AN

ENQUIRY

INTO THE

ALLIANCES

OF THE

STATES GENERAL,

WITH THE

*Emperor, France, Spain, and
Great Britain.*

By **ONSLOW BURRISH, Esq;**

In Three PARTS.

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W. Musgrave.

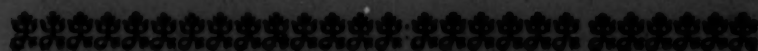




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OR, AN
ENQUIRY

INTO THE
POLICY and COMMERCE
OF THE
UNITED PROVINCES.



PART II.



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PART II



BATAVIA ILLUSTRATA

PART II.

*Of the FISHERIES, MANUFACTURIES,
and GENERAL COMMERCE of the
PROVINCE of HOLLAND.*

INTRODUCTION:



THE PROVINCE of HOLLAND,
is situated from fifty one to
fifty three Degrees of *North
Latitude*; full of Rivers, and
so extreamly low and flat,
that when the Tide is in,
the Water is almost every where higher
than

than the Land. It is impossible to enumerate the many Inconveniencies, which the Inhabitants sustain from the Neighbourhood of the Sea; the number of their Rivers, and the Flatness of their Country. The *Winters* are long and severe, and the *Summers* short and unfruitful; the cold Winds very often destroy the *Blossoms* of the *Spring*, and oblige them to gather the *Fruits* of *Autumn* before their Maturity. The large Dykes or Ramparts, which they throw up to keep out the Water, are an immoderate Expence to the Country; and what is still worse, the Sea and the Ice very often cut, and break through their strongest Works, or force over them in such a Manner, that it often takes up Years to free the Country from the Inundation, and restore it to its former Circumstances. It is computed, that one Perch of a Sea-Dyke costs about *fifty Pounds Sterling*; and in that Quarter of *Holland* called the *Rhineland*, which has but little Communication with the Sea; Land is taxed at *forty Pence per Acre* for the first Cost of erecting the Dykes; *thirty Pence*, for throwing or milling off the Floods, that are caused by excessive Rains; and *twenty Pence per Acre* for keeping the Dykes, and Highways in Repair; besides an infinity of *Forfeits*

feits, and *Chicanes* of the Collectors. So that Land is charged in this District at near nine Shillings *Sterling per Acre*, and It is still higher in *North Holland*, where I have known Proprietors that would be glad to make a Surrendry of their Lands situated in that Part of the Province, to any Person that would take Them off their Hands, or abandon them entirely if the State would permit It.

But this Situation, however inconvenient and unpleasant, has its Advantages with Relation to Commerce; for there being very little Land in *Holland*, and that extremely bad, the Merchant has no Temptation to draw his Money out of Trade; which continues to accumulate from one Generation to another, and by this Means becomes so plenty, and Interest so very low, that the *Dutch* are from thence, in a great Measure enabled to sell cheaper than their Neighbours. Whereas in *England*, where there are so many Encouragements to settle in the Country, the generality of Traders are no sooner possessed of *twenty or thirty thousand Pounds*; than they begin to think of a Retreat, of Building, Planting, and other Amusements, just when their Fortune enables Them to traffick to Advantage.

HOL-

HOLLAND, which is thus in a perpetual Struggle with the *Sea* and the *Rivers*, contains about four hundred thousand Acres, exclusive of the *Turf Pits*, *Wood Lands*, *Heaths* and *Marshes*. This is generally a *Sandy*, barren Soil, which cannot be improved without vast Expence, and is very unfit for Tillage. But tho' we suppose the whole well cultivated, and sowed with Wheat; allowing sixty Bushels to be the Annual Product of each Acre; we shall still find, that even this would not afford *one Pound of Bread per Diem*, to each Inhabitant. So unequal are the Productions of the Country to the Number of the People. *Monsieur De Wit*, who made his Calculation about threescore Years ago, computed the People of *Holland* at *two Millions and a Half*; and if we may allow them to have encreased one Sixth in that Time, they must now be reckoned at *three Millions*, and may be supposed, according to that great *Minister*, so renowned for his *Algebraical* Calculations, to subsist in the following Manner. (a)

(a) See *De Wit's Memoires*.

Five hundred Thousand are employed in the several *Sea Fisheries*, including those who build the Vessels, and supply them with all manner of Necessaries; as *Rigging, Cables* and *Anchors*; with the *Barrels, Instruments, and Salt* used in that Trade. } 500000

2 We may reckon two hundred and fifty Thousand, employed in the *Agriculture* of the Country, and *Inland Fishery*; including those who dig the *Turf* for Firing; and those who furnish the *Nets, Instruments* and every Thing made use of in these Kinds of Labour. } 250000

3 Eight hundred Thousand are employed in the several *Manufactures* of the Provinces, whether for *Inland Consumption*, or *Exportation*; including the *Merchants* who deal in those *Manufactures*. } 800000

4 Three hundred Thousand are employed in *Building, Equipping* and *Navigating* all Kinds of Ships and trading Vessels. } 300000

1850000

1850000

- 5 Eight hundred Thousand, in
 procuring, and furnishing all
 Things necessary for the Sup-
 port of *Life*; Aliments of all
 Sorts, with *Cloaths, Buildings,*
Furniture, and all the long
 Train of *Conveniencies, Super-*
fluities and *Embellishments.* } 800000
- 6 The remaining three hundred
 and fifty Thousand, are the *No-*
bility; Those in Employments;
 Lawyers; All those that live on
 their Rents, with their Servants,
 the military Men, and the Poor. } 350000

 3000000

And tho' this Calculation should be more or
 less erroneous, with Respect to the exact
 Numbers employed on each Species of La-
 bour, yet 'tis very certain, the annual Pro-
 duce of the Country is not sufficient to nou-
 rish a Tenth Part of its Inhabitants: And thus
 the Rest, being under a Necessity of fetching
 their Subsistence from Abroad, are forced
 to put forth all their Industry, and extend
 their Commerce on every Side, by which
 They

They mutually contribute to the Support and Assistance one of another.

But in order to know the several Causes which have concurred to bring so great a Number of People together, and crowd them into so narrow a Compass, It may be worth our while to go back, and take a View of the ancient State of the *European Commerce* in general.

Nothing is more certain, than that about seven hundred Years ago, Commerce was unknown in *Europe*; unless to a few Merchants in the small Republicks of *ITALY*, whose Trade, except that which They carried on to *INDIA* by the *Caravans*, was entirely confined to the *LEVANT*, and the *MEDITERRANEAN*: so that in every Country the Inhabitants were forced to depend upon *Agriculture* for their Subsistence; to sow and reap that They might eat; and thus in the *North* and *East*, where they had no Merchants, and consequently no foreign Commerce, the People finding their Numbers augment, and apprehending a Famine either from an unfertile Year, or a late *Harvest*, thought it proper to discharge Themselves of as Many as They could, whom they encouraged to make *Inroads* upon their Neighbours, and to establish Colonies amongst Them; which seems to have been the true Reason of

those prodigious Swarms of *Northern* People, whose Footsteps are still to be traced in *Italy*, *France*, *Spain*: in the *Provinces* on this side the *Rhine*, and in *Great Britain*. These People were at their Height about a Thousand Years after our SAVIOUR, and 'tis certain they knew very little of Commerce. Money was not invented, or made the Standard of Value amongst Them. They exchanged their Superfluities with each other by way of *Barter*. We are told two *Pullets* were given for a *Goose*; Two *Geese* for a young *Hog*; three *Lambs* for a *Sheep*; and three *Calves* for a *Cow*. The Exchange of one sort of *Grain* for another, had also its established Proportion; insomuch that 'twas commonly known what Quantity of *Oats* should be given for such a Quantity of *Barley*; what *Barley* for *Rye*; and how much of This answered to so much *Wheat*. And unless it was in *Provisions*, and such Things as served the *Necessities* of Life, there was no Commerce at all.

The FLEMMINGS, who are the nearest Neighbours of FRANCE, and inhabit a fertile and pleasant Country, were the First that invented the Art of fabricating Stuffs; which augmented extreamly under BALDWIN EARL of FLANDERS, who in the Year 960, invented and established annual Fairs in the Towns

Towns of the *Low Countries*, with an *Exemption* from all Duties of Importation or Exportation, and all Impositions whatever; by which the *Commerce* of this Country was extremely augmented, and continued to encrease for three hundred Years together, till the Invention of public Halls and Companies, where under the Pretence of examining if the Merchandizes were not Counterfeit, They made Attempts to confine the Manufactures to the *Cities*. But as all Constraint is hurtful to Commerce, so This produced a quite different Effect, and drove the *Manufacturers* into the *Villages*, from whence They were again forced to remove, by the *War* that broke out afterwards between *France* and *Flanders*, which obliged Them at last to sit down at *Louvain*, and *Tirlemont*, in *Brabant*. But it seems They were not better treated here, and the Examinations They underwent at the *public Halls*, with the high Imposts laid upon Them, soon occasioned a very great Revolution in Commerce. For these Vexations having caused a Sedition in *Ghent*, which ended in the Murder of two *Sheriffs* and eleven of the principal Inhabitants; and parallel Comotions happening afterwards at *Bruges*, where no less than fifteen Thousand Inhabitants were left dead on the Spot, and again at *Ipres* in 1303, upon the same Occasion,

where the whole SENATE was massacred; Many of the guilty Workmen took Refuge in ENGLAND; where They introduced the first Knowledge of *Drapery*; and others established Themselves in the Countries on each Side the *Maese*, particularly at *Leyden*, in the Province of *Holland*.

Before this Time, in the Year 1200, the GERMAN KNIGHTS of the CRUSADE, under Pretext of converting the PAGANS, had conquered several Countries, some of which situated on the River *Loder*, being barren and unfertile, They left to the *Profelitte Princes*; but reserved the fruitful Countries of PRUSSIA and LIVONIA, with the Rivers *Wesel*, *Progol*, and *Down*, which made Them Masters of all the Produce of POLAND, LITHUANIA, and MUSCOVY: and from this Time the great eastern Towns which lay nearest Them, began to take off the gross Commodities of Those Countries; which they again transported into the *Netherlands*, and to *France*, *England*, *Spain*, and *Italy*; from whence they brought back what They had most Occasion for.

Afterwards in 1360, when the War between SWEDEN and DENMARK, had very much reduced the maritime Power of those Crowns; Sixty six great eastern Towns entered into an Association, for the Defence and Protection of Navigation and Commerce.

The

The principal of These were *Hamburgh, Dantzick, Lubeck, Frankfort, Leipfick, and Bremen*. They were called *Hanse Towns*, and by engrossing the eastern Trade, became Masters of the SEA, and consequently of COMMERCE; in which Posture they maintained themselves till the Year 1400, when the Method of *salt-ing Herrings*, being invented in *Holland*, and this Fishery added to the Manufactures of that Province, the *Dutch Commerce* then began to exceed that of the HANSE TOWNS, and continued to encrease every Day by their maritime Trade with BRUGES; till 1482, when the *Flemmings* made War with the ARCH-DUKE MAXIMILIAN, for the Guardianship of his Son, and the Administration of the Countries that belonged to Him. This War lasted ten Years, and very much affected SLUICE, the Sea-port of BRUGES, which those of ANTWERP and AMSTERDAM perceiving, and being ready to procure their own Advantage at the Expence of BRUGES, They assisted the ARCH-DUKE in all his ruinous and unjust Designs, by which they at last gained their End, and divided the Commerce of that Town.

Now commenced that vast Trade at *Antwerp*, which for more than an Age together made it the Envy of *Europe*. The ITALIANS having brought *Silk-worms* from PERSIA

and CHINA, began to make considerable Quantities of Silks, with the Production of those Insects, which they consigned for Sale to this City ; and the *East* and *West Indies* being discovered about the same Time, the SPANIARDS and PORTUGUESE brought hither all their Spices, and the ENGLISH, who since the Flemish Drapers settled amongst Them, had struck into the woollen Manufactury, kept their Warehouses at ANTWERP likewise ; which thus became the most flourishing Town for Trade in the Universe. They established several silk Manufactures, and had Numbers of Ships continually running between *France*, *Spain*, *Italy* and *England*. This Town however, as well as the Rest of *Brabant*, and *Flanders*, was situated at too great a Distance from the Sea, to admit carrying on the *Herring* and *Cod Fisheries*, with the other Branches of Commerce in general, to so great Advantage as in *Holland*. The People of the *Baltick* had their Magazines at *Antwerp* amongst the Rest: but as on the one Side, They had more Occasion for the *Dutch Cod* and *Herrings*, than for the fine *Italian Goods* ; so the *Hollanders* took off far greater Quantities of their *Corn*, and other Productions of the *East*, than the *Antwerpers* had Occasion for.

Upon

Upon this Footing Commerce continued till the Year 1585, that *Antwerp* was taken by the DUKE of *PARMA*. For the King of *SPAIN*, willing to weaken a City that was too powerful for Him, by dividing Its Commerce and spreading it into other Towns, neglected to open the *SCHELD*, by reducing the *Zealanders*, whilst He had it in his Power; and *ANTWERP* having no Communication with the *SEA*, but by that River, the Merchants began to retire from thence, and settle Themselves at *AMSTERDAM*, which was already the most considerable trading Town of the *United Provinces*. The Persecution in the *Low Countries* on Account of *Religion*, and the War then carried on by *Spain* against *France*, *England*, and the *United Provinces*, by which *PHILIP II*, was at last so reduced, that He was no longer Master of the *Sea*, nor in a Condition to protect the Navigation of his Subjects, compleated the Ruin of Commerce in the *Spanish Netherlands*. The Question, was whither the Traders should retire. *ZEALAND* was their nearest Neighbour, but the Inclemency of the Seasons in those Islands, especially to the North, where the Winters are long and tempestuous, added to the Difficulty of transporting their Merchandizes into the neighbouring Countries, were Reasons against their settling there. In *FRANCE* and

ENGLAND, *Liberty of Conscience* was not permitted, and the Duties of Importation on foreign Commodities were very high. A third Part of the Manufactures however, fell to the Share of *England*, where the FLEMINGS then introduced the *Damasks, Serges, and Bays*. The *Fisheries* fell to *Holland* entirely, with the *Linnen Manufactury*, which settled it self at HARLEM; and Part of the *Drapery*, which became fixed at LEYDEN.



SECT



S E C T. I.
O F T H E
D U T C H F I S H E R I E S.



BEFORE we enter into a Detail of the *Dutch* Trade in general, It will be proper to take a View of their *Fisheries*, and *Manufactures*; which were the original Sources, and are now the Support of all their vast Navigation and Commerce. The *Dutch* Historian EMANUEL VAN METEREN, informs us that in 1610, there went from *Holland* fifteen hundred Busses or small Vessels, upon the *Herring Fishery*; and our Countryman Sir WALTER RALEIGH, who was employed by KING JAMES I, to enquire into it, made his Report to Him, that

that in the same Year 1610, the *Dutch* had no less than three Thousand Vessels employed in the *Herring Fishery* only. But in This He contradicts *Van Meteren*; and indeed considering how great a Lover Sir WALTER was of Commerce, we cannot wonder if He exaggerated the Account, in order to rouse up the supine Temper of the *King*, and inspire Him with an Emulation, which *Count Gondemar* the *Spanish* Minister knew but too well how to suppress. It is impossible to name the exact Number of Vessels the *Dutch* now employ on this *Fishery*, which vary every Year; but by all I could observe when in *Holland*, and all I was able to learn, I have Reason to believe the *Busses* employed to take Herrings, do not exceed *eight Hundred, communibus Annis*; but these are from *thirty to fifty Tuns*, whereas in the Time of *Van Meteren*, They were only from *twenty to thirty Tuns*; so that tho' the Number of Vessels now employed be not so great, yet this is more than made up in their Size, and there is, I believe, a greater Quantity of Fish taken at present, more Hands than ever employed, and a proportionable Consumption of every Thing that depends on this Fishery. The Importance of the *Herring Trade*, will best appear to Us, if we consider how many different

different Parts of Commerce It gives Motion to; and how great a Number of People depend on each of them. In the first Instance, we may reckon those Merchants who send Numbers of Ships every Year to the *North*, to bring Home the *Timber*, and other Materials employed in the first Construction and annual Repair of the *Busses*; with the several Trades that depend on the fitting out these Vessels, and the *Seamen* that navigate them: To these must be added all those employed in Building and Repairing the *Busses*; the *Carpenters*, *Caulkers*, *Smiths*, *Ropemakers*, and *Sailmakers*; with the *Coopers*, who make the prodigious Number of Casks used for *Package* of the *Herrings*; the *Net-Makers*, and all other little Trades who furnish the several *Instruments* necessary in the *Manufactory*; nor must we forget the great Quantity of *Salt* used in curing the *Herrings*, of which there is so prodigious a Consumption, that this Article alone employs several hundred Sail of Ships, who fetch it every Year from the Coast of *France*, and other Parts, and employ in their Turn the several Trades before enumerated. To these must be added the vast Number of Persons employed in Navigating the *Busses*, and in taking, dressing, and

and packing the *Herrings*; with the Ships that afterwards transport Them from *Holland* almost into every Part of *Europe*. All which being computed, we may venture to affirm, that a thousand *Busses* sent out upon this Fishery, give Employment and Subsistence to *thirty thousand Families* at least, not including that vast Number of People, who get their Living by the necessary Consumption of all Kinds of *Cloathing*, and *Provisions*, that They Occasion.

There are two Seasons for the *Herring Fishery*, the first of which continues for a Month or five Weeks, on the Coast of *Scotland*, from the latter End of *June*, to the latter End of *July*; and the Second holds from the Middle of *September*, to the latter End of *November*, on the Coast of *England*, about *Tarmouth* and *Loestaff*. Perhaps Sir WALTER RALEIGH'S Error, if It were so, was occasioned by first taking the Number of *Busses* employed on the *Scotch* Coast, and adding Them to those afterwards seen on the coasts of *England*; whereas They are in Reality the very same Vessels that freight Themselves first from the Sholes They find on the Coast of *Scotland*, and afterwards make two Trips to that of *England*, in the second Season; so that each *Bus* usually brings

brings Home three Cargoes of *Herrings* in one Year.

After what has been said, It will not appear strange, that the *States General*, should have been always very assiduous to procure the necessary Grants from *Great Britain*, for fishing on our Coasts ; and to have this Right garranteed to Them, by Those whom They thought best able to protect Them in it ; but how far We may have complied with their earnest Desires in this Point, and how far it may have been garranteed by *France*, or what Right that *Crown* had to enter into such a *Garrantee*, will very naturally fall under our Enquiry in the third Part of this Discourse. 'Tis certain the *States* have neglected nothing at Home, that could possibly bring this Manufactory to Perfection : There are an infinite Number of *Placarts* or *Ordinances*, that regulate the Times and Order of Fishing, and are so many Directions for the Methods of curing and packing the *Herrings* ; all which it would be very necessary for any Set of Men to understand that may attempt this Fishery.

After That of the HERRINGS, the COD FISHERY is of the greatest Importance to the DUTCH, who take a vast Quantity of these Fish on the *Dogger Bank*, a Sand of a considerable Extent in the *North Sea*, on which there is a proper Depth of Water for the Fishermen.

Fishermen. They generally employ every Year two or three hundred Vessels in this Service, which are from *Forty* to *Sixty* Tuns, and are called *Doggers* from the Place where They take their *Fish*. It would be unnecessary to enumerate the Advantages reaped from this *Fishery*, which are the same in Proportion with Those derived from the *Herrings*. The constant Sale of the vast Quantity of *Fish* the *Hollanders* salt up, is secured, by the Religion of some of the circumjacent Countries, and the Scarcity of Provisions, or the Poverty of the Inhabitants in others. In the *Austrian Netherlands*; a great Part of *Germany*, *France* *Spain*, and *Italy*; the People are obliged to abstain from Flesh, for at least one fourth Part of the Year. It is the same with Those of *POLAND*, who are supplied with their *Fish* from *Dantzick*; and the other People of the *Baltick* take off great Quantities; so that these Commodities always come to a ready Market, which is the Point of greatest Consideration in Commerce.

The *GREENLAND FISHERY* employs about Two hundred Sail of Ships every Year, from Two Hundred and Fifty, to four hundred Tuns. This Trade however

ever, is thought to be a Kind of *Lottery*, and is therefore undertaken by Persons of overgrown Fortunes, who if They fail this Year, expect better Luck the next, and do not feel the Disappointment; but it is of undoubted and universal Benefit to the *State* in general, as it promotes the Encrease of Navigation, and the Consumption of every thing that depends on it.

The *Inland Fishery* is likewise of very great Importance to the *Dutch*. Their Lakes and Rivers afford Them almost all Kinds of fresh Water *Fish*; and those that are proper to the *Sea*, are taken on every Part of their Coast, with which their Markets are supplied in the greatest Plenty and Perfection; and what is more than sufficient for the Home Consumption, is pickled up, and added to their *Cod* and *Herrings*, for Exportation. It may be expected perhaps, that I should indicate the exact Quantities of *Fish* that the *Dutch* export annually; but This is impossible, because not only the Number of Vessels they employ in *Fishing* is various in different Years, but their Success is uncertain, and 'tis usual enough to take twice the Quantity in one Year, that They do in another. Sir WALTER RALEIGH has affirmed indeed, but upon what
Grounds

Grounds I know not, that the *Dutch* exported annually no less than *three hundred Thousand Tuns of salted Fish, of one Kind or another*. GERARD MALINES has somewhere or other said the same Thing; and MONSIEUR DE WIT, who was fond enough of magnifying every Thing that might reflect any Honour on his Country, quotes both these Authors in his *Memoires*, and infers, that in his Time, there must be a great deal more than *three hundred thousand Tuns* exported yearly from *Holland*, because the *Dutch* Commerce in general was augmented one third since the Year 1610, when Sir *Walter Raleigh* wrote. For my own Part, It becomes me to have all manner of Deference for Sir *Walter Raleigh*, but unless we can allow that the *Dutch* sent out *three Thousand Vessels annually upon the Herring Fishery*; that these Vessels made constantly *three Voyages in the Year*; and that every Voyage They caught their entire Loading of Herrings, the Computation cannot be just. But as to the first of These, *Van Meteren*, who was a Dutchman, speaking of the Year 1610, which Sir *Walter* instances in his Representation to KING JAMES, fixes the Number of Vessels employed in this *Fishery* at about *fifteen Hundred*. And for the last, If we consider how precarious a
Trade

Trade *Fishing* is, We shall find it hard to believe that SIR WALTER'S *three thousand Vessels*, should never fail to take their *full Cargoes three Times a Year*. In short, if the Thing could be ascertained, *Monfieur De Wit*, who could not want Information, would not have omitted to have given his own Authority for it.



T

SECT



S E C T. II.
OF THE
DUTCH MANUFACTURES,
And the distinct
BRANCHES of COMMERCE,
Peculiar to the several
T O W N S
OF THE
PROVINCE of HOLLAND.



WE have already observed, that upon the taking of *Antwerp* by the DUKE of PARMA, in the Year 1585, the Merchants and Manufacturers, who made up the Trading Body of that opulent City, began to remove

move from thence, and settle themselves in *England*, and the *United Provinces*. The *Drapers* that went to *Holland*, incorporated themselves with those whom they found already established at *Leyden*; but the Bulk of the Merchants and general Traders sat down at *Amsterdam*, which for some Time, had been the most considerable Town for Trade of all the *Seven Provinces*, and now began to triumph in the Spoils of *Antwerp*. The *Woollen* and *Linnen Manufactures* were brought to a tolerable Perfection in all their several Branches; which, with the Fisheries mentioned in the preceding *Section*, continued to be the principal Employments of the *Dutch*, from 1585 to 1648, when they were acknowledged a free and independant People by the SPANIARD, and the Treaty of MUNSTER concluded upon that Footing, between the CROWN of SPAIN and the Republic of the *United Provinces*. Hitherto the *Hollanders* had carried on a free and open Trade to *France*, from whence they brought all the fine Mercery Goods they had Occasion for; as *Velvets*, *Silks* of all Kinds, *Gold* and *Silver Stuffs*, and several other Manufactures, which were not yet practised in the *Seven Provinces*. But Misunderstandings arising between the two Nations upon the Treaty of

Munster, the *French* began to make Encroachments on the *Dutch Trade*; and refused to renew the ancient Treaties of Commerce. *Piracies* were committed on the *Hollanders* by their *Privateers* in the *Mediterranean*, and elsewhere, and a new Duty of *fifty Sols per Tun* was laid on all foreign Ships trading to the *French Ports*. This Interruption to Trade on the part of *France*, first inspired the *Hollanders* with the Design of setting up in their own Country, the several Manufactures that were then peculiar to that Kingdom: Yet they left Nothing unattempted to restore the Freedom of Commerce, and re-establish the Harmony that had hitherto subsisted between the two Nations.

Eleven Years from the Peace of *MUNSTER*, were already taken up in fruitless Attempts, and Negotiations, to this Purpose, when in 1659, *MONSIEUR BOREEL*, the *Dutch Ambassador* at the Court of *France*, prevailed with the united Body of Merchants at *Paris*, to make a Representation to their Court; of the great Quantity of *French Merchandize* that was yearly exported to *Holland*; and *BOREEL* affirmed, that in Case the new Duties laid on Dutch Goods and Shipping, coming into *France*, were continued, the *STATES GENERAL* would

would be obliged to Charge *French Commodities* imported into the *Seven Provinces*, in the same Proportion. This Representation had its Effect on the *Court of France*, and in 1662, a Treaty was made between that *Crown* and the *States General*, which was succeeded by a new *Tariff* in 1664, that set aside the Duty of *fifty Sols per Tun*, and established Commerce on the ancient Footing. But this good Intelligence did not last long; and in 1667, the *French* encreased the Imposts on foreign Merchandize, without any Regard to the Treaty they had made but five Years before. The War which broke out between *France* and the *United Provinces* in 1672, put an entire Stop to open Trade between the two Nations, and animated the *Dutch*, in the Resolution They had taken to set up Manufactures at Home, for the Goods They used to bring from *France*; in which They succeeded so well, that when that War was ended by the Peace of NIMEGHEN, in 1678, and a Treaty of Commerce concluded at the same Time, between *France*, and the *Republic*, which set aside the *Tariff* of 1667, and restored That of 64 in Favour of the *Dutch*, yet it was immediately found that French Goods bore no Price at *Amsterdam*; upon which a very inge-

nious Author has left us this Observation, *That Commerce once destroyed never recovers It self.*

There continued, however, to be some Importation of *French* Manufactures into *Holland* 'till the Year 1690, when War between *France* and the *Republic* broke out with more Violence than ever, and was attended with the severest Prohibitions of Commerce. This obliged the *Dutch* to apply themselves to their Manufactures, with double Industry, which They now brought to so good a Perfection, that notwithstanding Peace was restored to *Europe*, by the Treaty of *RESWICK* in 1697, and a Treaty of Commerce concluded between *France* and the *United Provinces*, which once more annihilated the Tariff of 1667, and the Duty of *fifty Sols*, with all the other vexatious Edicts that then interrupted the *Dutch Trade* to *France*; and restored the Tariff of 64; the *Hollanders* found themselves in a Condition to carry on their Commerce almost entirely with their own Manufactures. *Velvets*, *Satins*, and other *Silks*; *Gold* and *Silver Brocades*; *Ribbons* of all Kinds; *Lace*, *Paper*, &c. were now fabricated in *Holland*, and sold *Twenty per Cent.* cheaper than in *France*, and if the *Silks* were not quite so beautiful as
Those

Those of *Tours* and *Lions*, the Difference in the Price was more than answerable to that of the *Commodity*; and the *French* had the Mortification to see their Trade to *Holland* very much diminished, or rather destroy'd, in all the above-mention'd Articles.

Nothing contributed more to bring these Manufactures to a Perfection in *Holland*, than the Number of *French Refugees*, who fled thither from the Persecutions raised against all those of the *reformed Religion* in *France*, and were received by the *Dutch* with great Humanity. CARDINAL RICHELIEU had broke the Strength of the *Hugonots*, by the taking of ROCHELLE in 1627, who from the Year 1562, upon the Infraction of the Edict published in their Favour by *Charles the Ninth*, immediately after the famous Conference of *Poissy*, had supported Themselves in ten different Wars against the *Crown* of *France*; but were so effectually reduced by the Loss of *Rochelle*, and the Calamities that followed upon It, that when upon the Death of MAZARINE in 1661, LEWIS XIV, took the Government of his Kingdom into his own Hands, He saw Himself in a Capacity of driving Them out of *France* by the Authority of his Edicts alone, who for an Age together, had maintained Themselves against all the

Force of his Predecessors, backed with all the Subtlety and Aid of the *Church of Rome*, which was unalterably bent for their Destruction. The *Protestants* thus reduced, and persecuted, had for Thirty Years together fled in great Numbers out of *France*, and were well received and encouraged in several Countries, particularly in *England*, the *Protestant Cantons of Switzerland*, and the *united Provinces*; and being for the most part *Merchants* and *Artizans*, They applied Themselves readily to *Commerce* and *Manufactures*, and were very instrumental in bringing Those of *Holland* to Perfection.

EUROPE had scarce tasted the Effects of the Peace made at RESWICK, when upon the Death of CHARLES II, KING of SPAIN, It was again plunged in a bloody and obstinate War. LEWIS XIV, set up his Grandson the DUKE of ANJOU to be KING of SPAIN, grounding his Title upon the Will of the deceased Prince; which being controverted by the EMPEROR, the *second grand Alliance* was form'd at the HAGUE September 1701, in Consequence of which the *United Provinces* declared War against *France* in the subsequent Year, which lasted till 1713, when Peace was again restored between the two Nations by the *Treaty of Utrecht*, and the *Tariff* of 64 once more revived. It will be more particularly

particularly our Business in the Sequel, to examine the present State of the Trade between *France* and *Holland*; and In the Mean Time, It cannot be improper to mention the several Branches of Commerce peculiar to each Town of that Province.

LEYDEN is in the Possession of the *Woollen Manufactory*, which is carried on there, in all its Branches of *broad* and *narrow Cloath*, *Camblets*, *Serges*, *Druggets*, &c.

The *University* of this Place, was erected by the *States of Holland*, in 1575, in Gratitude for the Vigorous Resistance made by the Town against the *Spaniards* in the foregoing Year. We are told, the People of *Leyden* endured the most cruel Extremities of *War* and *Famine*, with a *Constancy* hardly to be paralleled; the PRINCE of ORANGE had lost all Hopes of raising the Siege, and the City was upon the Point of becoming a Prey to a merciless *Enemy*, when by cutting their *Dykes* at a Time when the Wind favoured the Design, the Meadows and low Lands about the Town, were covered in an Instant, with a Deluge of Water, which so amased the SPANIARDS, that They abandoned the Siege with Precipitation, leaving their Baggage and the wounded behind them.

The

The UNIVERSITY has three *Curators*, who are such for Life; one of These is of the Colledge of NOBLES and elected by Them. The other Two, who are either Members of the *Town Senates*, or the *Courts of Justice*, are chosen by the STATES of HOLLAND; and these *Gentlemen*, in Conjunction with the BURGOMASTERS of LEYDEN, are charged with every Thing that regards the Advantage and Prosperity of the *Univerfity*. Besides these three *Curators*, there is the RECTOR MAGNIFICUS, who Presides at the Head of the *Academical Senate*, which is invested with the Power of Judging all Causes both *civil* and *criminal* in the last Resort, and all Members of the *Univerfity* whose Names are registred in the *Rector's Books*, depend on his Jurisdiction.

In the CITY of HARLEM, besides all the *fine Linnen* which is wove in the Place, They draw vast Quantities from the Neighbouring Provinces of *Groninghen*, *Frizeland*, and *Over-yffel*; from the Country of *Cleve*, and even from *Silefia*; all which is bleached at *Harlem*, and there receives that beautiful *White*, which is so generally admired, and makes the *Dutch Linnen* more Valuable than any in the World. To this we must add *Velvets*, plain and flowered; *Gold* and *Silver Stuffs*, rich and light *Silks* of many Kinds, *Gauzes*, &c.

DELFT

DELFT is famous for the fine *earthen Ware* which bears the Name of that City, and is made in Imitation of CHINA: Here are likewise a few *Clothiers*, who employ Themselves in the *Woollen Manufactory*; and a great many *Brewers* who make a vast Quantity of Beer, which is consumed in the circumjacent Villages.

The delightful City of ROTTERDAM is in Possession of the Trade to GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND, almost to the Exclusion of all the Rest. Her Commerce to FRANCE is likewise very considerable, and much superior to that of any other Town in the *Province*; She also drives a considerable Trade to the *East* and *West Indies*, and to the *Levant*, *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*.

The ancient Town of DORT, was formerly famous for the *English Trade*, as it is now for *Rhenish Wine*, which is brought down the *Rhine* by a very cheap and commodious Transport; to which we must add a vast Quantity of *Timber*, which is sent from GERMANY, in Floats down that River, directly to this City, from whence it is afterwards distributed to *Sardam*, *Rotterdam*, and other Parts of the *Province*. The best *Linnen Thread* is spun here; They have several Refineries for *Salt*; now and then

then an *English Ship* unloads at *Dort*, and the *Magistrates* omit Nothing that may possibly encourage our Country-men to return thither, but at present there is no Appearance that ever They will recover the *English Trade* from *Rotterdam*.

I know of Nothing manufactured at *Ter-gow*, except *Cordage* and *Pipes*, of both which there is a very great Consumption, and their *Pipes* are the neatest in *Europe*.

AMSTERDAM is the Glory of *HOLLAND*, and the Wonder of the World. This City alone, is in the Possession of half that immense Trade which the *Dutch* carry on to the *East Indies*, and governs the Whole. Her Commerce with *Spain*, and the *Spanish West Indies*, is very great, nor is it less considerable to the *Levant*, *Italy*, and *Portugal*. *Amsterdam* alone ingrosses the whole *Eastern Trade*, which the *Dutch* carry on to *Norway*, and all the Countries situated on the *BALTICK*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Pomerania*, *Livonia*, *Polish-Prussia*, and *Muscovy*, together with the greatest Part of *Germany*. Navigation and general Commerce, from this City to *France* and *England* are not very great; but the Correspondence between the *Bankers* of *Amsterdam*, and those of *London*, and *Paris*, in the Business of *Exchange*, and that sort of Traffick that depends on Bank-
ing,

ing, is highly considerable. In short, *Amsterdam* has her Share in all the Business that is done in *Europe*, and all the trading World.

To this prodigious Extent of foreign Commerce, we must add the *Manufactures* already ascribed to the several Towns above-mentioned; all of which, with Exception only to the *Delft Ware*, are more or less practised in this powerful and opulent City. A Multitude of Hands are employed in all Kinds of *Tapestry*; there are Numbers of MILLS for sawing all sorts of *Wood* into different *Dimensions*. Others to work and polish *Marble*; Mills for making *Gunpowder*; for grinding *Snuff*; and for drawing *Oyl* from *Seed*. There are REFINERIES for *Sugar*, *Salt*, *Cinnamon*, *Camphire*, *Borax*, *Sulpher*, *yellow Wax*, &c. And as *Huetius* observes, One may apply to *Amsterdam*, what *VOPISCUS* said of *Alexandria*, after he had summed up the *Manufactures* practised there. ‘That all its Inhabitants followed some Trade, that the *Lame* and the *Gouty* were employed, and even Those who had the *Gout* in their Hands, did not sit idle.

After what has been said, it may not be improper to enquire what Reasons might probably induce the *Merchants* to settle in this City upon their leaving *ANTWERP*, preferably

ably to any other Town of the Province. The PORT of AMSTERDAM, which is the *Texel*, is not only the worst of all *Holland*, but perhaps of the World, and it may be said with great Confidence, there is no trading Place of any Importance, where the *loading* and *discharging* of Ships is performed with so much Hazard, and Difficulty. Between the *City* and the *Texel*, lies a large Sand called the POMPUS, on which there is so little Water, that the Merchants are obliged to send their Ships light into the *Texel*, where they take in their Cargoes, from Vessels of a small Draught, and in the same manner homeward bound Ships are obliged to anchor and continue there, till the same Kind of *Lighters* can be sent down from the *City*, into which they discharge Themselves. And besides the Delay and Expence occasioned by this, the *Texel* is at the same Time one of the most dangerous *Roads* in *Europe*; and Ships are frequently wrecked whilst they wait there for *Lighters* to unload into: From whence we may observe, that the Nature of the *Port* has little or no Influence upon Commerce, since this *City* has at once the worst Harbour with the most extensive Trade. But if the Sea-Port of *Amsterdam* be bad; when once Goods are lodged in the *Ware-house*, there is no Place so advantageously situated for the Sale of them.

This

This will be evident, when we consider that almost every Wind serves to carry small Vessels of Transport in a few Hours, to and from the Provinces of *Friezland*, *Overyssel* and *Gelderland*, and to all the Towns of *North-Holland*, without depending on the Tide, or any other Flux or Current. And as it is a Maxim in Commerce, and I believe may hold Good in every thing else, *that the View of a certain Profit is to be preferred to that of an uncertain Loss*: 'tis no wonder that the Merchants should be tempted to sit down here, to overlook the Dangers of the *Texel*, and forget the Losses they sometimes sustain, for the sake of the other Conveniences, which this City affords them preferable to any other; as in Reality there is no Town in the *Universe*, where all Kinds of Commodities find so sure and quick a Market as at *Amsterdam*.

I shall conclude what I have to say of this Town, with some Account of its BANK, erected in the Year 1609; A Subject, I think, that no Writer has yet touch'd upon, or very slightly. Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, contents Himself to mention only *two* Circumstances, as Causes of the great Credit this Bank has obtained in *Europe*, which are *the strong Situation of Amsterdam*, and *the independant Sovereignty*, that every Town of *Holland* enjoys, by the Constitution

stitution of the Province: but He is not pleased to say a Word, either of its exterior or interior Government, which I am the more surprized at, as Sir *William* appears every where fond enough of unveiling the *Arcana Imperii* of the *Dutch*. Therefore it will not be improper for me to bespeak the Candour of the Reader, whilst I give Him the best Accompt I can of so delicate and mysterious a Subject.

The strong Situation of *Amsterdam*, seconded by all the Advantages that Art can furnish, secures the Town against the Attempts of an Enemy from without; and the popular Government places the Force and Power of the City in the Hands of Her proper Magistrates, who may be supposed too much interested in the Happiness and Grandeur of *Amsterdam*, to with a Revolution, or to be capable of using their Authority for its Destruction, instead of its Defence.

I am ready to confess that these Circumstances ought naturally to procure a very great Credit to the Bank; but they are still insufficient to make Money deposited there, of greater Value than That which a Man keeps in his own Cabinet; which is in Reality the Case, however, and Bank Money is worth a great deal more in *Holland* than *Current*.

This is expressed by the Word *AGIO*, a Term made use of to denote the Difference of

of the real Value, between *Bank* and *common Specie*.

In 1690, the *Agio* rose to *seventeen per Cent.* on account of a *base* Coinage then made current, which being afterwards reduced to near the *intrinsick Value*, the *Agio* has since been generally from *Four* and a *Half*, to *Five* and a *Half*, and sometimes even *Six per Cent*; Part of which may be accounted for thus. A *Ducatoon* passes for *sixty three Pence* in *current* Payment, but when paid into the *Bank*, it is only received for *sixty Pence*, or three *Guilders*, which is its *Intrinsick Value*; the odd three Pence having been added to it, to answer the *Charges of the Mint*. In the same manner *Wedges*, *Bars*, and *Ingots* of *Gold* and *Silver*, are received in *Bank* by their *Weight*, and the Sum brought to the Account of the *Proprietor*.

Thus then there is a real Difference of *five per Cent*, between *Bank* and *current* Money; but the *Agio* is usually higher, fluctuating with the *Exchange*; or to use other Words, rising and falling in Proportion to the Demands that are made on the *Bank*: So that it is not absolutely determined by the Difference of *intrinsick Value*, between one *Specie* and the other. This will be understood more perfectly, by observing that all *Bills of Exchange* drawn upon *Holland*, must if the

Proprietor pleases, by the Custom and Laws of the Country, be paid in *Bank*; which necessarily obliges every considerable Merchant to keep an open Account there: and thus *Bills of Exchange* drawn upon *Amsterdam* or *Rotterdam*, are after Acceptance frequently lodged in the *Bank*, and the Acceptor is obliged at the Time they become due, to make a Transfer of Bank-Stock or Bank-Money, to the Proprietor's Account, for the Amount of the Bill, which would otherwise be liable to a Protest, without ever presenting it for Payment, after it had been once accepted. Thus when large Remittances are made upon the *Bankers* of *Amsterdam*, and they are under a Necessity from thence, of having a great deal of Money in *Bank*, the *Agio* rises, and sinks in Proportion, when on the contrary, there are many Sellers, and few Buyers. But when this happens, the *Directors* have recourse to Stratagem, to keep up the Value of the *Agio*, which is done by agreeing privately, with some of the monied Men, to buy up such a Quantity of Bank Money, as answers the immediate Necessity of the Sellers; and thus Appearances are saved, and by supplying their Agents with Cash in the most secret Manner, they support the common Opinion that has so long prevailed with the People of *Holland*, and the rest of the

World,

World, *that the whole Business of the BANK of AMSTERDAM is managed by TRANSFER, and that no Money is ever issued from thence upon any Occasion.*

It costs near a Pound Sterling to open an Account with the *Bank*, and six Pence for each *Transfer*, to which we may add, that there is a certain Penalty upon every Person that draws upon the *Bank*, within about two Pounds *Sterling* of the whole Money he keeps there; and the Advantage made upon all this, is applied to pay the *Clerks*, and defray other Charges; from all which it is evident, that every Proprietor pays considerably for keeping his Money in the *Bank*, instead of drawing an Interest upon it.

Without Doubt, the only Reason why Persons are contented to deposit their Money upon such Terms, is a firm Belief, that it remains *sacred, untouched, and unapplied to any Use whatsoever.* The MAGISTRATES of AMSTERDAM; all Those concerned in the Government of the *Bank*; and in general, the whole Body of the *seven Provinces*, take Pains to propagate this Opinion, and appear at least to be of the same Mind Themselves.

I have been informed from very good Hands, that in 1672, when LEWIS XIV, was at *Utrecht*, and there was a general Run on the *Bank of Amsterdam*, occasioned by the

universal Terror, and Apprehension, that all Men lay under from the near Approach of the *French Troops*; the *Magistrates* took some of the most considerable, and most popular of Those who talked loudest, and offered to convince them by ocular Demonstration, that the vast Treasures deposited in the *Bank*, were really there. The Story ends thus, that an infinite Number of *Baggs* appeared, which the *Magistrates* affirmed to be full of Money, and that upon Proof, it would be found that the original Sums lodged in the *Bank*, where there to a *Stiver*; but they said at the same Time, *That those who continued to distrust Them, and to break the public Credit, by making their Demands at a Time when the State was in so great an Exigency, should be stigmatized as bad Subjects, and should not be permitted to replace their Money in the Bank, when the Storm was blown over.* This bold Declaration had Its Effect. The Call ceased, and the *Bank* preserved Its Credit. I cannot help wishing, however, as a good *English Man*, zealous for the Honour of those great *Magistrates*, that the Experiment had been made: an Event, which would have evidenced the Truth, beyond Contradiction, and have placed the *Veracity* and *Honour* of those Gentlemen, as well as the *Credit* of their *Bank*, upon a solid and

and lasting Foundation. But perhaps those *Fathers* of the *City* thought it proper to keep the Money where it was, that if the *ARMY* of *FRANCE* had advanced, and a *Million of Ducats* well placed, would have raised the *Siege*, they might not have been wanting.

If the *Bank* lends Money upon any Occasion, It is certainly to the Directors of the *Lombard*, an incorporated Body of Men *impowered by Authority to lend Money upon Pawns at a moderate Interest*. Should this be granted, It will prove indeed, that the *Bank* of *Amsterdam* trafficks in some *Proportion*, as well as the other *Banks* of *Europe*; but this can be no just Cause of *Discredit*, because the Money is advanced upon a real Security; for the *Lombard* takes Care to lend sufficiently within the *intrinsick* Value of the *Pawn*, and the Interest is not suffered to accumulate. Thus the late *ELECTOR* of *BAVARIA'S JEWELS*, that were pawned to the *Lombard* of *Amsterdam*, were more than once ordered for Sale, and would certainly have been disposed of, had not the Interest been discharged. Where the *Pawn* is very considerable, and a large Sum demanded, as in the Case of these *Jewels*, there is indeed some Reason to believe that the *Bank* both advances the Money, and draws the

Interest, under the borrowed Name of the *Lombard*. Thus if a Merchant has a Commodity that is not perishable, such as *Tin*, or *Lead*, for which there may possibly be no immediate Demand, He may find the Means to have two Thirds of the Value advanced upon a very small Interest, which enables Him to wait for his Market. The Use and Advantage of such a Practice, especially in a *Trading Country*, is very obvious; but if We ask why the Conduct of the *Bank* in this Particular, instead of being made *public*, is kept *secret* and rendered *mysterious*; the true Answer, I believe would be, *That should the Proprietors of the TREASURE, lodged in the BANK of AMSTERDAM, come once certainly to know, that any Use was made of the Money there deposited, many of Them would be apt to think, They might as well employ It in the same Manner Themselves.*

As to the *Government* of the *Bank*, It is very solemn and regular. The whole City is bound to make good the *Money* there deposited, and the *Treasure* is secured under four different Locks, the *Keys* of which are kept by four of the principal Magistrates, one of whom is always the *PRESIDENT BURGOMASTER for the Time being.*

The

The *Bank of Rotterdam* was erected in 1635, and the *Agio* there, is generally the same as at *Amsterdam*.

SARDAM, situated within a League of *Amsterdam*, is undoubtedly the greatest Magazine for *Timber* proper for Ship Building, in the World. The principal Inhabitants of this Village, are Merchants, who call themselves *Boors* or *Pesants*, and under the awkward Dress, and seeming simplicity of Countrymen, conceal the utmost *Sagacity* and *Cunning*. They are most of Them extremely rich, and may be reckoned amongst the greatest *Bankers* in *Holland*. They deal very considerably in the Business of *Exchange*, and are very good Judges of It. Their Vanity however, is not less than their Wealth, and they take a peculiar Pleasure in letting you know, after their own Way, that They are worth Abundance of Money. Of This They give you many Instances in *Holland*, and it has been frequent with the *Boors* of *Sardam*, when Bills of Exchange for very large Sums have been brought to Them for Payment, to ask the Presenter, with that sort of Flegm which is peculiar to Them, *in what Specie he chose to receive his Money*. The rest of the Inhabitants are *Ship Carpenters*; and the whole Village is one continued Magazine of Timber. I know

not whether it will be worth our While to mention a Report which is very general in *Holland*, that the People of *Sardam*, are capable upon *three Months* notice, to launch a Ship every Day, from *four* to *five hundred Tuns*, for as long a Time as you please. This is believed to be true by a great many Persons in *Holland*, and I will not pretend to Judge how far They may be mistaken, or what those of *Sardam* are really able to do: If it be an Error, It certainly owes its Rise and Credit amongst Them, to the *natural Genius* and *Bent* of the People, and perhaps it would do more Hurt than Good to undeceive them.

ENCHUISEN, in *North Holland*, has its Share in the *East India Trade*; and is very considerable for the *Herring Fishery*, which has rendered It rich and opulent.

HORN, situated in the same Part of the *Province*, is famous for Its *Traffick* in *Cheese* of the Country, and has likewise its Share in the Trade to the *East-Indies*.

The BRILL, and *Helvoet-Sluice*, are the Sea-Ports of *Rotterdam*, and *Dort*. They are the *Keys* of *Holland*, and as such, are strongly fortified, and well Garisoned. Their principal Subsistence is the *Herring Fishery*,

Fishery, and they get considerably by Passengers, and Traders between *England* and *Holland*.

SCHEDAM, VLARDINGHEN, MAZELAND-SLUICE, and some other small Places, depend entirely on the *different Fisheries* already spoken of.



S E C T.



SECT III.
OF THE
Rise, Progress, Commerce,
AND
GOVERNMENT
OF THE
Dutch East-India Company.



HISTORIANS inform Us, that about three hundred Years before the Birth of our SAVIOUR, a Correspondence was opened between *Europe* and *India*. PTOLEMY II, then KING of EGYPT, contributed very much to

to establish an Intercourse between the Continents, by cutting a new Road thro' Part of his Country, from *Muris* on the *Red-Sea*, to *Copta* a Town situated on the Borders of the *Nile*. *Egypt* becoming afterwards a Province of the *Roman Empire*, by the prevailing Arms of *AUGUSTUS*, the *ROMANS* omitted nothing that might possibly facilitate and encrease the *European Commerce* with *India*, which continued to flourish in their Hands, till the Time of *HERACLIUS*.

'Twas then, that upon the Declension of the *Empire*, the *ARABIANS*, who were very well acquainted with the Profits arising from the *Indian Trade*, and had been hitherto subservient to the *Romans* in it, left nothing unattempted to make Themselves the entire Masters of so important a Commerce; and this they happily effected, establishing *Colonies* in *India*, where they propagated the *Mahometan Religion*, which it seems was suitable enough to the loose Temper of the Natives.

Whilst the *Arabians* were Masters of the Coast of *India*, the Commodities of that Country continued the same Course into *Europe*, by way of the *Red-Sea*, *Alexandria*, and the *Persian Gulph*, from whence they were transported in *Caravans* to the Sea-Ports of *Siria*, where they were bought by the *Italians*,

Italians, and those that lay near the *Levant*, who afterwards dispersed them over *Europe*.

In this manner the *Indian Trade* was carried on by the Ports of the *Mediterranean*, till towards the End of the *fourteenth Century*, when the *PORTUGUEZE* to their immortal Glory, sailed round *Africa*, and arrived at *Calicut* a Town of the *East Indies*, in 1498.

The *Arabians*, who were very strong in *India*, did all they could to frustrate the Design of the new Comers, and hinder their settling in the Country. But the *Portugueze* were superior to all Obstacles, and with an Intrepidity, and Constancy that can never be sufficiently admired, they sustained the united Force of the *Arabians* and their *Indian Confederates*, upon whom they made several important Conquests, in which they fortified themselves so well, that at last They became absolute Masters of the Trade of those vast Eastern Regions, which they now diverted from its old Channel, of *Grand Cairo* and *Alexandria*, and transferred it to *LISBON*.

The Conquests of the *PORTUGUEZE* in *Asia* and *Africa*, will best appear, when we describe Those which the *Dutch* have since made upon Them in those Countries. In the mean Time, the *Portugueze* enjoyed the Effects of their Conquests for above an hundred Years without any Interruption, and the

the *Dutch*, as well as the other *European* People had all the rich Commodities of *India* directly from *Lisbon*, which now triumphed in the Ruin of *Alexandria* and *Cairo*, to the unspeakable Loss and Detriment of *VENICE*, and many other Parts of *ITALY*.

Upon this Footing the *European* Commerce to *India* rested, till the latter End of the *fifteenth Century*, when by the Death of *HENRY* the *CARDINAL KING* of *PORTUGAL*, that Kingdom became annexed to the *Crown* of *Spain*, and *PHILIP II.*, being then at Variance with his *Netherland Subjects*, which ended in the Revolt of the *united Provinces*; prohibited their Trade to *LISBON*, and the rest of his Dominions; and thus the *Dutch* were laid under the Necessity of going Themselves to *India*, and bringing from thence the Commodities They had hitherto bought in *Portugal*.

This Enterprize however could not be so easily executed, as imagined. The *Portuguese*, and *Spaniards*, most inveterate enemies to the *Dutch*, were very powerful in the *Indies*: They had *Forts* and *Settlements*; They had formed *Alliances*; and the Natives, who for an hundred Years together, had been taught to consider Them as invincible, would not be easily induced to do any thing to disoblige Them; and besides all This, They

They had Numbers of *Men of War* continually cruising on the Coast, to hinder any Attempt that might be made from *Europe* to their Prejudice. The *Dutch* on the Contrary, were destitute of every Thing that could encourage Them. They were utter Strangers to those *vast Indian Seas* which they were to pass, and intirely ignorant of every Thing, except the Danger to which They exposed Themselves in the Undertaking. Yet in Spite of all This, They attempted and performed the Voyage. Their implacable *Hatred* of the *Spaniard*, the *Love* of *Liberty*, and *Thirst* of *Gain*, all provoked Them to the Enterprize; and in 1559, four Ships were fitted out for *India*, by a few Merchants of *Amsterdam* and *Zealand*, Three of which returned to *Holland* two Years afterwards; the Fourth having been lost by the Negligence of the Seamen.

Tho' the Adventurers made little or no Gain by this first Voyage, yet it served to convince Them the Attempt was not impracticable. They were encouraged to try their Fortunes again; and the second Voyage being attended with better Success, other Traders were induced to join Them, and thus by Degrees, *several Partner-ships* were formed of Merchants trading to the
Indies,

Indies, which lasted 'till the Year 1602, when the STATES GENERAL united these several small Societies, into one Body, with a very ample Charter.

Such was the Rise of the present *Dutch East India Company*. The joint Stock of these *incorporated Merchants* amounted to about seven hundred and fifty thousand Pounds Sterling, which They managed so well, that in the Course of a few Years, They destroyed the Empire of the *Portuguese* in *India*, established Themselves on Its Ruins, and have since extended their Commerce to so great a Degree, that It has been for a long Series of Years, one of the best Supports of their own Country, as well as the Admiration and Envy of their Neighbours.

Their first Attempt was on the *Portuguese Fortrefs* in the Island of AMBOINA, which they took, and it is to this Day one of their principal Governments in the *Indies*. This was followed by the Conquest of all the *MOLUCCA ISLANDS*, by which They became in a Manner absolute Masters of the *Spice Trade*, the richest and most important in the World. Their Success alarmed the Court of MADRID, and PHILIP III, who had now succeeded to the Crown of Spain, offered to acknowledge Them

Them a *free and independent People*, if They would abandon their Trade in the *East Indies*. But They had already tasted the Sweets of that Commerce, and chose to continue the *War* rather than part with it. Their Constancy had the desired Effect, and in 1609 *Spain*, concluded a Truce with Them for twelve Years, which was negotiated at the *Hague* by the *Spanish Ministers*, amongst whom was AMBROSE SPINOLA Himself, and it was expressly agreed, that the DUTCH should continue their Navigation and Commerce, to all the Places in the *East Indies* whither They had traded during the War.

In this Year They began to build the famous Town of BATAVIA, in the Isle of *great Java*, which They fortified very strongly, and made it their general Magazine, and the Seat of their Governour General. The new made Truce, was ill observed in the *Indies*. The SPANIARDS carried on the War there with as much Heat as ever, but the Dutch continued to be Successful, and in 1611 we find Them extending their Commerce into the remotest Parts of *India*, particularly to JAPAN, where they settled Themselves so effectually, that five Years afterwards, in 1616, They were the only European Nation who traded thither.

The

The Truce expired in 1621, and the *War* was renewed with Vigour, both in *Europe* and the *Indies*. The *Dutch* were successful in both the *Continents*, and whilst *Prince Maurice* was every where Victorious over the *Spaniard* at Home, the Arms of the *Company* were attended with a Torrent of Success in *India*, which lasted for 20 Years together, and in 1640, they took the important Town of *Molucca*, which made Them Masters of the most considerable *Streight* in *India*, and secured their Trade to *China*, and the *Molucca Islands*.

In this Year the *Portugueze* revolted from *Spain*, and crowned the *Duke* of *BRAGANZA*, *KING* of *PORTUGAL*, who was acknowledged by all the *States* dependant on that Crown, in *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*.

The *Portugueze*, had been hitherto at *War* with the *Dutch* as Subjects of *Spain*, but They had suffered too much, not to desire a Peace; and this Change in their Government, gave Them a fair Pretence to demand It. Accordingly the New *King* asked, and concluded a Truce with Them for ten Years, which was extended to all Places, both on this and the other Side the *Line*. But the *Dutch* did not observe their Treaty: They attacked and took *Gallo*, and
X *Columbo*,

Columbo, two important Places in the Isle of *Ceilan*, which made Them Masters of the whole Cinnamon Trade, and gave Them the Command of the Streights between *Ceilan* and *Cape Commorin*. The PORTUGUEZE having in vain demanded Satisfaction of the *Dutch* for this Infraction of the Truce, the War broke out again between the two Nations, and lasted sixteen Years, in which the *Portugueze* were successful in the *West-Indies*, where They recovered BRAZIL from the *West India Company* of *Holland*, but in the mean Time They lost almost All that They possessed in the *East-Indies*. The DUTCH took all their strong Places, and destroyed their Settlements, from the very Entrance into the *Indian-Seas* quite to SURAT; which struck such a Terror through that vast Country, that even GOA the Capital of the *Portugueze*, in *India*, was apprehensive of a Siege, and dreaded the Effects of It. The Loss of the Battle of *Dabuls*, in a Manner put an End to the Empire of the *Portugueze* in *India*; and their Allies the little *Indian Kings*, terrified with the Success of the *Dutch* Arms, left their old Friends, and put Themselves under the Protection of the *Company*.

It is extremely for the Honour of the *Dutch*, that in the very Heat of the *War*, they omitted nothing that might enlarge and facilitate their Commerce. Their Settlement at the CAPE of GOOD HOPE, is a Proof of this; where there is now a large Town, with a strong *Fort* that commands the Road. This Place, which is situated in a pleasant Country, and a good Air, serves the *Dutch*, as *St. Helena*, does the *English*, for a Place of *Rendezvous* to their Ships, in their Passage to and from *India*, which are here supplied with Water and fresh Provisions.

In 1661 the *Dutch* took *Formosa* from the *Portuguese*, an Island situated between *China* and *Japan*, of great Importance to the Trade of those Empires. Both Sides were now weary of the *War*, and a Treaty of *Peace* was concluded between them at the *Hague*, under the Mediation of the King of *England*, by which the *United Provinces* formally relinquish'd *BRAZIL* to *Portugal*, for a Sum of Money, and some other Advantages, the principal of which was that the *Dutch* were to remain Masters of all they had taken from the *Portuguese* in the *East-Indies*. But Jealousies arising between the VICE-ROY of *GOA*, and the Company's Governour general, the *Peace* was not at all observed in *India*; and in 1663, the *Dutch* took *Coulam*, Cana-

nor, Cochin, and Grandanor, which brought the whole Coast of *Malabar* into their Dependence. Several *Indian Princes* felt the Force of their Arms, as well as the *Portuguese*, and in 1669, the *King of Macassar*, who was the most powerful and resolute of all their *Indian Enemies*, was reduced to buy his Peace at the Price of several Fortresses, and of *Macassar* amongst the Rest, which made Them more than ever absolute Masters of the *Spice Trade*, which had sometimes been interrupted by the Incursions of the *Macassarians*. In this manner, they continued to conquer upon the *Portuguese*, till they left them only *GOA*, and *DIU*, which in all Probability will one Day or other fall into their Hands. In 1675 They seized upon *St. Thomas* on the Coast of *Cormandel*; in 1680 they got Possession of *Japara*, and *Cheriban*, in great *JAVA*; and two Years afterwards they seized the City of *Bantam*, whose Trade they suppressed, and transferred It to *BATAVIA*.

Thus by a long and surprising Series of Success, they have established their own Empire in the *East-Indies*, by ruining that of the *Portuguese*; and now remain peaceable Possessors of six entire *Provinces*, erected into Governments, which are *Amboina*, *Banda*, *Malucca*, *Cormandel*, *Ternate*, and *Ceilan*, They have their Forts and Settlements in the Rest

of

Part II. A ILLUSTRATA, &c. 309

of the *Spice Islands*; *Molacca*, *Java*, *Timor*, and *Solor*; and on the Coasts of *Malabar*, *Macassar*, *Sumatra*, *Surat*, *Bengal*, *Siam*, and *Japan*, &c.

The Trade carried on between these several Countries, and in general, from *Holland* to *India*, is what we are now to consider.

The three great Articles of a Cargo sent from *Holland* to the *East-Indies*, are *Bullion*, *Woollen Cloth*, and *Linnen*. The woollen Cloth is generally dyed *scarlet*, and the *Dutch* are very careful to imitate the *English* manner of *Package*, and other Marks used by Us, in order to preserve the Reputation which our Cloth formerly bore in those Parts of the *INDIES*, to which they now have an exclusive Trade. Besides these, they carry *Brandies*, *French Wines*, *Rhenish*, *Malaga*, *Hams*, *Beer*, and *Bisket*, but the principal Article is *BULLION*, of which however they send far less, in Proportion, than other Nations trading to the *Indies*; which is an Advantage they derive from their Monopoly of the fine *Spices*; Commodities that pass as ready Money in most Countries of *India*.

The Merchandizes brought from *India* to *Holland* may be distinguished under four Heads; *Spices* and *Druggs*; raw and woven *Silks*; *Cotton* in several Shapes; and *Metals*.

Under the Name of *Spices* are comprehended *Cloves*, *Cinnamon*, *Nutmeggs* and *Mace*, with

Pepper and Ginger. The four first are properly called *fine Spices*, and at present are only to be found, in those Countries which the *Dutch* are become absolute Masters of.

CLOVES, were formerly the Product of all the *Molucca Islands*, but now they are peculiar to *Amboina*, the Company having rooted up, and entirely destroyed all the Trees that grew in the other Islands; and to soften the Rigour of their Policy, they allow the *King of Ternate* a Pension of about five Thousand Pounds a Year, *by Way of Equivalent*. The first Fort the *Dutch* possessed in the *Indies*, was upon the Isle of *Ternate*. They assisted the *King* against the *Portuguese*, which procured them his Confidence; but they were no sooner firmly established, than they forced their Benefactor to submit to their Government. The *Dutch* tell you that the *Clove-Trees* of *Amboina*, are more than sufficient to supply all the Universe, and consequently they could not sell greater Quantities than they do, tho' the Cloves should be more plentiful. But should they suffer the Trees to spread over all the *Molucca Islands*, They would be more liable to fall into the Hands of another Nation, and consequently their Monopoly would be hazarded.

This

This *Island*, which the *Dutch* conquered from the *Portuguese*, was the Scene of a cruel Tragedy in the Year 1623, which is commonly called the MASSACRE of AMBOINA. The *Dutch* executed all the *English* that were upon the *Island*, under the Pretext of their being Accomplices in a Conspiracy, to kill the *Governour*, and seize the *Cittadel*; having first obliged Them by unheard of Tortures, to acknowledge the Design they were accused with. The Truth is, the *Hollander* had no mind the *English* should have any Share in the *Clove-Trees*, and the other *fine Spices*. A great Deal more might be said; but as the Matter has been compounded in public *Treaties*, (a) I shall only add, that 'tis possible we may also have forgiven the *Dutch*, but they will never believe we have.

There are two sorts of CINNAMON, *fine*, and *mild*; this Last is of far less Value than the Former, which is only to be found in the *Isle of Ceilan*, in a small Tract of forty or fifty Miles upon the Sea Coast, within the

(a) See the Treaty of Peace and Union between OLIVER CROMWELL as Protector of England, and the States General concluded at Westminster, Aprill 31b. 1654. Also the Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Charles II, and the said States, done at Westminster, Feb. 9th. 1673-4.

Command of the *Dutch Settlements*; who take care to prevent the Encrease of the *Cinnamon-Trees*: and if we may believe *Monsieur Huet*, they were at the Expence of taking *Cochin* from the *Portuguese*, the better to secure the Monopoly of this *Spice*; for it seems the *Portuguese* found a great Deal of common or mild Cinnamon about *Cochin*, which they frequently put off for that of *Ceilan*, and by that Means hindred the *Hollanders* from setting what Price they pleased upon this Commodity.

NUTMEGGS and MACE grow only in the Isle of *Banda*, where the *Dutch* observe the same Policy as in *Ceilan* and *Ambonia*, omitting nothing that may hinder the spreading of these Trees, and confine the Trade to Themselves, which they have enjoyed without any Interruption, since the Year 1669, that they reduced the *King of Macassar*, who being a near Neighbour to this Island, his Subjects used to take off great Quantities of Mace and Nutmeggs, which they sold afterwards to the *English* and *Portuguese* at an under Rate; and by that Means very much lessened the Gains of the *Company*. But amongst other hard Conditions imposed on this Prince, they obliged him to drive the *Portuguese* entirely out of his Country, and refuse the Use of his Sea-Ports to all European Vessels except
their

their own: by which they have effectually secured this Trade to the Exclusion of all other Nations.

PEPPER is distinguished into large and small. The first is found on the Coast of *Malabar*, and in the Islands of *Sumatra* and *Java*. The latter is peculiar to *Achem* and *Bantam*. 'Tis pretended that the Consumption of *Pepper* is greater in *India* than in *Europe*, especially of the small Kind; the *Indians* and *Mahometans* putting it whole into their Dishes, or at most a little bruised, without reducing it to Powder; and 'tis thought to be more wholesome in those sultry Regions, than in colder and more temperate Climates. There is no Commodity that has a more current Vent in the *Indies*, than *Pepper*; and accordingly the *Monopoly* of this Spice has been the constant Object of the *Dutch Company*: But they have been always strongly opposed by the *English*, who hitherto continue to preserve their Share in this Branch of Trade, in common with the *Hollander*, and the *Portuguese*. GINGER is the Root of a Tree resembling that of the *Rose*: We are told it grows in greatest Plenty about *Malabar*, a Town in the *Mogul's* Country, from whence it is chiefly exported, and has a general Consumption in *India*, as well as the *Northern Parts of Europe*, which take off very large Quantities.

TEA

TEA, which for its Universality, may be placed at the Head of the Druggs, that are brought from *India*; is no more than the Leaves of a Tree, about twelve or fourteen Foot high, gathered in the *Spring*, and dried in Copper Pans over the *Fire*, or in the *Sun*, 'till they shrink up to the Size in which we see them. CHINA produces a great Deal, but the best is thought to grow in *Japan*, and from these Countries the *Dutch* furnish Themselves with all they bring from *India*. INDIGO and SALTPETRE, which are two very considerable Articles in the Trade of the Company, are both the Product of the *Mogul's* Country; and of the Province of *Agra*, in the Kingdom of *Golconda*. We are told that *Indigo* is made of the Leaves of a Plant resembling *Hemp*, which after being rotted in Water, are wrought into a Substance, of the consistency of *Clay*, which as soon as dried becomes *Indigo*. The *Dutch* bring Home every Year about *six Thousand Weight* of this Drugg, which they distribute afterwards through all the North Parts of *Europe*. SALTPETRE is also brought from *India* to *Holland* in excessive Quantities, and is there made into *Gunpowder*. BENGAL affords the Company a vast Quantity of coarse *Sugar*, which when brought to *Holland* is refined, and sold to all the neighbouring Countries

tries, with a very considerable Profit. LACCA, the Production of an *Indian Pismire*, is a Kind of Gum said to be made by that *Insect*, in the same manner that *Bees* produce *Honey*. There are two Kinds of this Drugg, black and red, but the latter is in greatest Plenty; and 'tis from this sort that the *Indians* extract that lively *Red*, with which they stain their Silks and Callicoes, in that beautiful manner which so much exceeds our Imitation. This Drugg is produced in *Pegu*, *Asen*, *Bengal*, *Guzoratte*, and several other Parts of *India*. The *Hollanders* pay about ten *Stivers* a Pound for it in those Countries: and *Monsieur Huet* charges them with mixing it up with *Rosin*, and afterwards selling it in *Europe*, at ten *Stivers* per Ounce; so that their Gain is hardly to be computed. RHUBARB and MUSK are found in several Parts of *India*; but no wherein so great Perfection, as in *Bouton* a Kingdom situated between the *Great Mogul's* Country, and *Tartary*; from whence they are fetched by the People of *Bengal*, and other Merchants of *Asia*, who sell them to the *Dutch*. To these Druggs we must add *Ambergreese*, *Camphire*, *Benzoin*, *Borax* and *Bezoar*; with several sorts of Wood, as *Aquila*, *Siampan* or *Brazil*, *Lignum*, *Aloes*, *Rosewood*, *Sindal*, *Ebony*, *Calambour*, *Catatour* and *Cocoa*, all which are the Product of

of the *Indies*, and are brought to *Holland* in great Quantities, from whence They are again distributed over *Europe*, with a very extraordinary Profit.

The Productions of *ARABIA*, which the *Dutch* fetch from *Mocoa* on the *Red-Sea*, and the other *Arabian Ports*, are *Frankincense*, *Mirb*, *Mannab*, *Balm*, *Aloes*, *Dragons Blood*, *Coffee*, and several Kinds of *Gums*.

The Commerce of *PERSIA* is carried on by the Port of *Surat*. That Part of it under the great *Mogul*, affords vast Quantities of all Sorts of *Silk*, *Indigo*, *Saltpetre*, *Lacca*, *Agates*, and *Ginger*. *Silk* is the chief Commodity of the Rest of *Persia*, which produces likewise a small Quantity of *fine Wool*, *Pearls*, *Turquois Stones*, and *oriental Agates*. *BENGAL* one of the most fruitful Provinces of *India*, in Subjection to the great *Mogul*, affords *Indigo*, *Saltpetre*, and *Sugar* in the greatest Plenty; and the best *Silk* of the *Indies*, which the *Dutch* take off in prodigious Quantities. To these we may add *Diamonds*, and the several Commodities produced in the Kingdom of *Bouton*, which are fetched from thence by the Merchants of *Bengal*.

The Country from *SURAT* to *CAPE COMORIN*, which includes the Coast of *Malabar*, abounds with *Pepper*.

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CORMANDEL, and GOLCONDA, afford Cotton, Calicoes, Chintzes, Indigo, Bezoar, and yellow Diamonds.

PEGU yields Lacca, and Metals of several Sorts, Gold, Silver, Rubies, Saphires, Topazes, Hyacinths and Amethysts.

SIAM, produces Rice, Elephant's Teeth, Tin, Lead, Siampan Wood, and Deer Skins, Gold, and China.

JOR, LIGOR, JAMBI, QUEDA, PERA, and SUMATRA, &c. all Places bordering upon the Streights of MALACCA, afford Tin and Lead.

Silk, Musk, and Lignum Aloes, are the Produce of the Kingdom of TONQUIN.

CHINA which has always been esteemed the richest Country of INDIA, produces woven and raw Silk of all Kinds; Cotton, Calicoes, Camblets, and Hemp; Gold, Tin, Copper, Steel, and Iron, precious Stones of several Sorts; Lapis Lazuli, and Marble; Aquila, and Ebony or Brazil Wood; Tea, Sugar, Musk, Quick-Silver, China Roots, Rhubarb, Pale and brown Amber, Porcelain, fine Cabinets, and many other particulars, which It would be tedious to enumerate.

SILVER and COPPER are the principal Commodities brought from JAPAN: To which we may add Tea, and the Wood which bears

bears the Name of that Country made into fine Cabinets, and Works of several Shapes.

SUMATRA, one of the most considerable Islands of the *Indies*, is divided into small Sovereignities, and produces *Pepper*, *Gold-Dust*, *Camphire*, and *Benzoin*. The *Dutch* have found Means to make Themselves so formidable to the little *Princes* of the *Island*, that *They* have engaged *Them* by *Treaty* to *sell their Merchandize* to no other Nation.

The delightful *Isle* of great *Java* is the Center of the *Dutch* Commerce, and the Seat of their Capital in *India*. The principal Commodity of the *Island* is *Pepper*: *Cinnamon*, and *Ginger* likewise grow here, and of late, the *Dutch* have planted *Coffee* with good Success. *Java* is one of the most fertile and pleasant Countries of *India*; Its Plains are watered with Rivers, whose Banks are covered with *Cocoas*, and other Fruit Trees, that wear a perpetual Verdure, and screen the Traveller from the Sun, at the same Time that their Productions afford Him a most agreeable Refreshment. *Rice* grows here in great Quantities; *Beef*, *Pork*, *Fowls*, and *Pidgeons* are in Plenty, and *Mutton* is only scarce from the extreme Fertility of the Soil, which affords so luxuriant a Pasture that the *Sheep* feed 'till they burst. 'Tis said the *Vine* bears seven

seven Times in two *Years*, but the *Grape* affords no *Wine*. Nature by precipitating the Birth, destroys maturity. Formerly there was a great Number of Cities in the Isle of *Java*, governed by their several *Kings*, but those who had the Misfortune to be situated near *Batavia*, were gradually swallowed up, by the growing Power of the *Dutch*, and of such as lay farther off, some have totally lost their Liberty, and others in Part. The most powerful of these Princes were the Kings of *Mataram*, *Japara*, *Bantam*, and *Jacatra*. The former, who pretends to be *Emperor* of the Island, retains his Liberty from the strong Situation of his Capital *Mataram*, which lies in a vast Plain, encompassed with prodigious Mountains, covered with thick Woods, thro' which the Passages are so narrow, that They cannot be forced. *Japara* is subject to the *Dutch* Government, but retains a considerable Share of her anient Commerce. *Bantam* which was one of the most powerful Sovereignities of the Island, is entirely reduced to the Subjection of the *Hollanders*, and its Trade, as I have observed above, is transfered to *Batavia*. Originally, the *Portugueze* and *English* had considerable Settlements in this City, and interfered very much with the Trade

Trade of the Company. But the *Dutch* took the Opportunity of a *Civil War*, and by supporting the Son of the King of Bantam in a Revolt against his Father, They at last made Themselves Masters of the City and its Commerce. Their Competitors the *English* and *Portuguese* were immediately expelled, and the People of Bantam are to this Day the Slaves of the *Dutch Company*, whom They furnish with an immense Quantity of *Pepper*. As for *Jacatra*, the very Name of it is now extinguished, and sunk in that of *Batavia*. The *Hollanders* at first desired Leave to build a Fort, for the security of their Merchandize; but having in Process of Time made Themselves Masters of *Jacatra*, They destroyed the old Town and built their *Batavia* upon its Ruins. This is now one of the finest Cities in the *Indies*. Through every Street of the Town runs a Canal, that is fed by the River *Jacatra*, which still retains its old Name. These Canals are bordered with Trees that are perpetually green, and the excessive Heat is allayed by a *Sea Breeze* which rises every Day at Ten in the Morning, and reigns 'till the same Hour at Night, when it gives place to a gentle Gale from the Land; so that the natural Day, is equally divided between two friendly Winds, one

of

of which serves to bring all Manner of small Vessels into the City, and the other to carry Them away, as soon as They are unloaded. As they are not exposed to *Hurricanes*, the Houses are built extreamly high, which gives the City an Air of Magnificence. There are Numbers of different Nations to be found at *Batavia*, as well of the eastern as western World. The *Roman Catholics* enjoy a Liberty of Conscience there, as in *Holland*. The *CHINESE*, who alone are computed to be four or five Thousand, inhabit a Suburb by Themselves, where They have their *PAGODE* and their Burying Places. Amongst a great Number of Churches, there is one for the Reformed *Indians*, where the Service is performed in their own Language. Of these, the Females are the most numerous, which proceeds from a *Law* that obliges the Women who marry *Europeans*, to turn *Christians*; but the same Law does not bind the Men, or rather they are not permitted to marry *European Women*. *Batavia*, is the general Magazine of the Company, as well for *European* as *Indian* Commodities. The Road is good and commanded by a *Fort*, flanked with four *Bastions*, and lined with *Free-Stone*.

BORNEO, is universally agreed to be the largest Island in the *Indies*, and its Inhabi-

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tants the most treacherous According to *Monsieur Huet*, They have more than once insulted the Settlement which the *Dutch* formerly had there, for which Reason They have been permitted to bring the Commodities of their Country to *Batavia*, the principal of which are *Diamonds* and *Camphire*.

MACASSAR, an Isle divided amongst several petty *Kings*, of whom, He who bears the Name of the Island, was formerly very formidable to the *Dutch*, affords great Quantities of *Pepper*, *Sandal*, and *Siampan Wood*; *Gold-Dust*, and *Tortoiseshell*. The *Dutch* maintain a considerable Garrison in the Fort of *Macassar*, which is a Port of extreme Consequence to their *Spice Trade*.

Such are the Productions of those extensive Regions, a great Part of which are in the immediate Dependance, or under the Influence of the *Dutch East-India Company*. Prodigious Quantities of the Commodities I have mentioned, are yearly transported from *India* to *Holland*, by a Fleet of about twenty seven Ships; but we are not to imagine that so rich a Return is purchased by the Cargo which the *Company* sends annually from *Europe* to the *Indies*. Their SPICES are the true Basis of all their mighty Traffick, and the Grandeur of the *Company*; and to this we may add, that the

the *Dutch* are in the *Indies*, what we find Them in *Europe*, the *Porters* or *Carriers* of other People, and They take Care to be very well paid for their Labour. With their *Spices* alone, which come so cheap to Them, They purchase all the rich Productions of *Arabia*. They also send vast Quantities to the *Mogul's* Country, *Bengal* and *Persia*; whither they bring likewise, the *Copper*, *Camphire*, *Tortoiseshell*, *Vermillion*, *Orchalmey*, *Tin*, *Benzoin*, and other Commodities, which They buy up in different Parts of the *Indies*, and exchange against the Productions of these Countries.

Thus to *CORMANDEL* and *GOLCONDA*, they send their *Spices*, with the *Copper* they buy at *Japan*; *Malacca Tin*, *Gold Oar* of the Isle of *Sumatra*, *Quick-Silver*, *Elephant's Teeth*, *Camphire*, *Vermillion*, *Siampan* and *Sandal Wood*.

To *PEGU*, *SIAM*, and *MALACCA*, They bring their *SPICES*. *Linnen* of all Kinds, *Cloath*, *Serges*, *Tammies*, *Elephant's Teeth*, *Sandal Wood*, red and white *Coral*, *Amber* and *Silver*: and to *JAPAN*, they carry the Commodities purchased in *CHINA*, with which, and their *Spices*, They purchase the *SILVER* and *COPPER* of that Country.

After this View of the extensive Commerce carried on by the *Dutch* in the *East-Indies*; It is our present Business to examine in what

manner and by whom the Affairs of the *Company* are governed.

The *Directors* of the *Company* form six different Assemblies; five of which are established in the Province of *Holland*, and one in *Zealand*. These are held at *Amsterdam*, *Rotterdam*, *Delft*, *Horn*, *Enchuisen*, and at *Middleborough*: In each of which Places, the *Company* has a Magazine, where the Goods brought from *India*, are laid up in the following Proportions. *Amsterdam* receives one Half; *Middleborough* one Fourth; and the other Towns have the remaining *Fourth* amongst Them; at each of which Places there are *public Sales* twice a Year by Order of the *Directors*. Out of these several Courts, is formed another, called the ASSEMBLY of SEVENTEEN, to which *Amsterdam* nominates *Eight* Deputies: *Middleborough* Four; each of the other Chambers one; and the Seventeenth is deputed by all the Courts alternatively. To this Assembly is deferred the Care of the most important Affairs of the *Company*. Every Thing that relates to *Shipping*, *public Sales*, *Dividends*, the *Nomination* of the Governour General in the *Indies*, the *Director General*, *Major General*, *Admirals*, and other principal Officers, is here determined by a Plurality of Voices; so that the Town of *Amsterdam*, which names eight of the *Directors* out of *seventeen*, has only one Voice

to gain, in order to dispose absolutely of all the most important Interests of the Company.

This Court is held two or three times a Year, most commonly at *Amsterdam*; and when the *States General* have any Thing before Them, relating to the *East-India Company*, The Assembly deutes some of her Members to confer with Them. All *By-Laws* for the Regulation of Trade in the *Indies*, are enacted by this Court; of which we shall be more particular in the *Sequel*, when we come to consider the Interests of *Great Britain*, as they may interfere with those of the *United Provinces*. The Supreme Direction of the Company's Affairs in the *Indies*, is committed by this Assembly, to the Council of State at *Batavia*; consisting of the *Governour General*, who is *President* of the Council, with a double Voice; six *Councillors* in ordinary, and so many extraordinary, as the Assembly of seventeen think fit to direct. But when the *Governour* and the six ordinary *Councillors* are all present, then the extraordinary have only a Right to debate without voting. The *Governour General* is chosen for three Years; but He is usually continued for Life. The Directors know very well their *Governour General* must get Money: but it would cost the Company too much to have a fresh Estate made upon

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them

them every three Years, which is the true Reason why they continue their *Governour*, whose Fortune being once made, he grows less rapacious. This Officer is *Generalissimo*, and *High Admiral*, on the other Side the *Cape of good Hope*; and has his subordinate Officers, the *Major General*, and inferior *Admirals*. Indeed, if we only abate his Dependance on the *Company*, who may revoke his Commission at Pleasure, his Authority in the *Indies*, far exceeds that which the *Princes of Orange* exercised formerly as *Stadtholders* of the *United Provinces*; for the *Stadtholder*, as we have seen, can neither make *Peace* nor *War*, levy *Forces*, besiege a *Town*, or invade an *Enemy's Country*, without the express-Consent of the *States*: but the *Governour General* may do all these even against the Opinion of the *Council*. Indeed, if the Success be not favourable, He runs the Hazard of his Head, if He should be disavowed by his Principals. But it seldom happens that He meets with any Opposition from the Councillors, who are apt enough to ply under so ample an Authority as is annexed to his Office. Of this there was an Example in *Governour Spelman*, who entered into *Treaties*, declared *War*, made *Peace*, and disposed of every Thing after his own Way, without any Controul. The *Governour General* represents the Dignity,
and

and we may almost say the *Sovereignty* of the *Company*. His *Court* and *Equipage* are magnificent: He is attended upon all Occasions with *Horse* and *Foot Guards*: He gives Audience to *Embassadors* of the *Indian Princes*, with the utmost Splendour and Ceremony; and acts in all Respects like a great and *Sovereign Prince*, at the Head of large and powerful *Territories*. The *Major General* is the second Person in the *Indies*, and commands all the Forces under the *Governour*. The *Director General* is the second Person of the *Council of State*, and superintends all the Affairs of Commerce. When the *Governour*, or any other Member of the *Council* dies, it depends on the Rest of the *Councillors*, to fill up the Vacancy by *Election*; which must be confirmed by the Assembly of *seventeen*.

The *COMPANY* maintains about *twelve Thousand* regular Troops in the *Indies*, and 'tis said, that in their several Governments and Dependancies, they have above a *hundred Thousand* of the *Natives* able to bear Arms, who are at their Devotion, and upon Occasion are joined to their regular Troops. The *COMPANY's* naval Force in *Europe* and the *Indies*, may together consist of about *sixty* Sail of Ships, fit for Service, from *thirty* to *sixty Guns*; which may be indifferently employed, either as *Men of War*, or *Merchant Men*.

It will be very easily concluded from what has been said, that the *Indian Trade*, as managed by the *Dutch*, must bring in immense Treasures. 'Tis certain that the yearly Return from *India* to *Holland*, amounts to about two Millions Sterling; and some pretend to say, that the general Profits of the Company, are not less than five Millions Sterling per Annum, which is no more than is requisite to answer the yearly Dividend made to the Shareers, and the exorbitant Expences the Company is at, both in *Europe* and the *Indies*, in Salaries to the *Governours*, *Commissioners* and *Directors*; in Wages to *Officers*, *Soldiers*, and *Seamen*; and in the Charge of *Fortifications*, *Ammunition*, and the building, rigging, victualling and repairing so many Ships. To which we must add, the *Rewards* and *Presents* made by the Company to their *Allies*, which are often of an immense Value.

There is another Board established at *Batavia*, by the Assembly of *seventeen*, called the *high Court of Justice*, which hears and determines all Causes, both *civil* and *criminal*, in the last Resort. Appeals lie to this Board, from the Judgment of all the other Courts of Justice in the several Governments: and she has Power to try the *Governour General* Himself, and condemn Him to *Death*, if found guilty of *Treason*. One would naturally imagine,

Imagine, that *Appeals* should lie from the Sentence of this Court, either to the *Assembly* of *seventeen*, or to the *General Company*: but They have thought fit for several political Reasons, to authorise the *high Court* of *Batavia*, to give Judgment definitively, in all *Processes* whatsoever, from which in Effect there lies no Appeal, except to the *States General* Themselves in their legislative Capacity. I shall have Occasion in the Sequel, to insert the *Placart* that is every Year published at *Batavia*; which will still give a further Light into the Manner in which the *Company's* Affairs are governed. The *Governours* of the *six Provinces* above-mentioned, with Him of the *Cape of Good Hope*, and all other *Settlements* or *Commanderies*, are chosen by the *Assembly* of *seventeen*; to whom they are obliged to return annually, exact Accounts of every Thing necessary for the *Company* to be apprized of, for the better Government of their Affairs.

Thus we have taken a View of the *Dutch East-India Company*, in its Rise, Progress, Commerce, and Government. We have traced It from a feeble *Infancy*, to a State of Strength and Maturity; and perhaps there is no Subject in the World, that affords so noble and convincing an Example, of the Force and Power of *Commerce*, when under a wise and constant Direction.

S E C T.



SECT IV.

OF THE

Dutch West-India Company.



THE PORTUGUESE first discovered *America*, in their Passage to the *East-Indies*, where They afterwards built several Forts, and were the only *European* People, who for many Years had any Settlement upon the Western Coast of this Continent, and in the adjacent Islands. The *Dutch* then fetched the Product of those Countries from *Lisbon*; but when *Philip II*, succeeded to the *Crown of Portugal*, and prohibited all Intercourse between that Nation and the *Netherlands*, The *Dutch*, as we have already observed, were then put upon the Necessity of trading directly to the *Indies*;

Indies; and the Success that attended those who undertook the Voyage to *East-India*, encouraged others to attempt a Commerce with *Africa*, and *America*. Their first Settlement was at *Moure*, on the *Gold Coast*, where They built a Fort, and improved their Trade so well, that in 1609 we find above a hundred Vessels employed directly between *Holland*, and the *Gold Coast*, *America*, and the *Cape de Verde Islands*. This Success animated Them with the Desire of forming a *West-India Company* in *Holland*: but this Design was traversed by Those that desired Peace with *Spain*, who prevented the Execution of it for twelve Years; till in 1621, when the Truce betwixt the *Spaniards* and *Dutch* expired, the *States General* then incorporated a Body of *Merchants*, trading to the *West-Indies*, with a very ample Charter; upon the Model of that already granted to the *East-India Company*. By this Charter the *States* gave Them an *exclusive* Trade for twenty four Years, from the *Tropick of Cancer*, to the *Cape of Good Hope*, and through all *America*, from the Streights of *Magellan* to *New-found-Land*. The new Company's Fund was about seven hundred Thousand Pounds Sterling, divided into nine Shares; and the Government of its Affairs was reposed in five different Chambers. That of *Amsterdam*, which had

had *four Shares*, was composed of twenty Directors: *Zealand* had *two Shares*, and *twelve Directors*; and the other Chambers of the *Maese*, *North-Holland*, and *Groninghen* had each *one Share*, and fourteen *Directors*. Out of these several Chambers, was formed Another, consisting of *Eight Deputies* of *Amsterdam*; Four of *Zealand*, and Two for each of the other Chambers, which with a *Deputy* from the *States General*, composed an Assembly of *nineteen*, who had the supream Direction of Affairs.

Monsieur Basnage gives BARNEVELDT the Honour of projecting this Company, whose Attempts were so successful in the Beginning, that the *Dutch* entertained Hopes of becoming Masters of all *South America*; and of making their Trade thither as advantageous as that to the *East-Indies*. In 1636 the new Company, had conquered the best Part of *Brazil*, where they settled a very great Trade, to the unspeakable Damage of the *Portugueze* and *Spaniards*. In the same Year They sent PRINCE MAURICE of NASSAU thither, in Quality of *Governour General*, and invested Him with an Authority equal to that of the *Governour General* in the *East-Indies*. During Eight Years that this Lord resided at *Brazil*, the Affairs of the Company continued to prosper, and He annexed to their former

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Conquests, Those of *Siara*, *Siriga*, and *Mara-gan*. In the same Manner They became Masters of *St. George de las Minas*, *St. Paul de la Conde*, and the *Island of St. Thomas* on the Coast of *Africa*. If we may believe the Registers of the Company, They fitted out between the Years 1623 and 1636, no less than *eight hundred Vessels* either for *War* or *Traffick*, the Expence of which, amounted to near *four millions five hundred thousand Pounds Sterling*; and they took from the Enemy in that Time, *five hundred and forty five Vessels*, whose Car-goes amounted to near *six Millions*, to which they add *three Millions* more, for the Plunder and Booty they obtained from the *Portugueze*, in their several Conquests. The Trade they carried on, to the different Places of their Dependance, and the other Parts of *Africa* and *America*, was extreamly advantageous, and consisted in an Exchange of Trifles, or Merchandize of little Estimation, for the richest and most valuable Commodities. *Corals*, *Chrystal*, *Lace*, *old Linnen*, and *strong Waters*, were thought an Equivalent by the Inhabitants of *Africa* and *America*, for *Gold*, *Ivory*, *Hides*, and *Gumms*.

But this Prosperity was short lived. In 1641, the *States General*, having concluded a Truce with the *Portugueze*, who were no longer Subjects to *SPAIN*; this stopped the Pro-

Progress of the *Company's Arms* in BRAZIL, upon which, They recalled their *General PRINCE MAURICE*; and Dissentions afterwards arising, between some considerable Persons in the *Company*, about the Government of BRAZIL, such Disorders succeeded in the Direction of Affairs, as were attended with the most fatal Consequences. The *Portuguese* were encouraged to renew the War, in which They were now so Successful, that besides all that the *Company* possessed in BRAZIL, they re-took the Island of SAINT-THOMAS, with the Town of SAINT-PAUL, and would probably have driven the *Dutch* entirely out of those Countries, had not the War been put an end to in 1661, by the Mediation of our KING CHARLES II, who was then about Marrying the INFANTA of PORTUGAL. By this Treaty, the *Dutch* relinquished their Pretensions to BRAZIL, in Consideration of a sum of Money paid Them by the *Portuguese*, and the liberty of trading thither, and to the other Ports in the *Portuguese* Dependance, as Friends. But the *Company* was so reduced, by the Expences of the War, that They who had been in a manner equal in Power, and Opulence, to the *East-India Company*, now became little better than Bankrupts: And in 1674, the *States General* were obliged, in order

order to preserve the Trade of AFRICA, to annihilate the *Old Company*, and form a new One of the *old Sharers*, and their *Creditors*, whose Fund amounted to about *Six Hundred Thousand Pounds Sterling*. In consequence of this, the number of *Directors* was lessened; the Chamber of *Amsterdam* was reduced to *ten*; that of *Zealand* to the same Number; the *Maese* to *seven*; the Number remained undetermined in *North-Holland*, and for the Chamber of *Groningen*, It was left to the *States* of the *Province*, to constitute so many as They thought fit, for the common Good and Advantage of the Company. Lastly, the Assembly of *Nineteen*, which had the supream Direction of the Company's Affairs, was reduced to *Ten*. Upon this new Establishment, the Company continued its Trade to very good Advantage. They still retained their Settlements on the *Gold Coast*, and at *Cape Verde*; and in a little time after their Loss of *Brazil*, they discovered and possessed themselves of the Islands of *Tobago* and *Curazoe*; from the latter of which, situated near *Carthage*, the *Dutch* now carry on a very advantageous Trade to *New-Spain*, notwithstanding the Prohibitions of the Court of *MADRID*.

To the Commodities already said to be brought from those Countries to *Holland*,
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We must add *Sugar* and *Tobacco*; Productions, that give Motion to another very beneficial Commerce, which is that of *Slaves*, in which the *Dutch* are considerable Dealers. The *Portuguese* take off great Numbers from Them, to cultivate Their Plantations in *Brazil*, and other Parts of the *Indies*. The Negroes of *Angola* are thought to be the strongest, and most serviceable, and without the Labour of these unhappy Creatures, it would be impossible to cultivate the Soil of those *Scorching Regions*.



SECT



S E C T. V.
OF THE
DUTCH TRADE
To the Northern Parts of
E U R O P E.



THE HANSE TOWNS, had for many Years together, engrossed all the Commerce of the *North*; when in the Beginning of the fourteenth Century, the KING of DENMARK, ERIC VIII, with whom They were then at War, called in the *Zealanders* to his Assistance, encouraging Them to trade to the *Baltick*; and from this Time the *Dutch* began to encroach upon the Commerce of the *Hans Towns*, which by Degrees

grees They have so effectually destroyed, either by Force or Treaty, that for many Years past, that Confederacy, which was once so potent and formidable, has been in a Manner annihilated, and now subsists only in the Name. It would be hard to say, whether the *Fisheries*, the *Indian Trade*, or the *Northern Commerce*, which we are now to describe, be of most Importance to the *Dutch*; but 'tis certain they are all equally necessary for the support of each other; and this we shall be better convinced of, when we see the *Herrings* and *Spices* sent in Quantities to the *North*, and there trucked against such Commodities as are absolutely necessary for the Support of the *Dutch Navigation*, and the Employment and Subsistence of their People.

The Trade the DUTCH drive with NORWAY is of great Importance to both Nations. They bring from thence *Masts*, and other Kinds of *Timber*; *Copper*, *Iron*, *Tar*, *Pitch*, *Firrs*, *Buck-skins*, *Asbes*, *Butter*, *Tallow*, and dry'd *Salmon*: To purchase which, They carry a great Quantity of *Spices*, *Salt*, *Canary*, *Brandy*, and *Vinegar*; Productions of *Southern* Climates, that are very much wanted in *Norway*. TOBACCO, bought originally from the *English*, and wrought up in *Holland*, with *Woollen Cloath*, and other
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Home Manufactures, make the rest of the Cargo; But as the *Dutch* take off great Quantities of the *Norwegian* Commodities, and that *Luxury* has not yet infected *Norway*, the *Exports* of that Country, far exceed its *Imports*, and the Difference is paid in ready Money, so that the *Dutch* Trade is of the last Consequence to the People of *Norway*, as well as of very great Importance to the *Hollander*. This Commerce is thought to employ near three hundred Sail of *Dutch* Ships, from four to five hundred Tuns.

The Trade between SWEDEN and *Holland* is highly considerable, and beneficial to both Nations. *Copper, Iron, Lead, Pitch, Tar, Masts, and Planks*, are the Product of *Sweden*; of which the *Dutch* bring from thence very great Quantities, especially, *Copper* and *Iron*; and in Exchange They send *Spices, and Druggs, of all Kinds; Salt, Sugar, French Wine and Brandy; Linnen; wrought Silks* of several Sorts, and great Quantities of *Woollen Manufactures*.

The Trade of DENMARK, is very inconsiderable. I know of nothing exported at present from *Zealand*; but *Jutland* affords *Black Cattle*, which the *Dutch* take off in great Numbers, and fat them up in *Holland*.

POMERANIA, abounds in *Corn, Wooll, Skins, and Timber*. STETIN, the Capital of that Province, situated on the River *Oder*, is the principal Place of Commerce, as well for the Commodities of this Country, as of *SILESIA*, and other rich Provinces of *Germany*; which afford vast Quantities of *Wheat*, and other *Grain, Honey, Wax, Butter, Iron, Lead, Tin, Linnen, Wool, and Timber*: Most of which Particulars the *Dutch* purchase with their *Spices, and Herrings* of the first Season, *Wines, Cheese, Salt, and Tobacco, Woollen and Silken Manufactures*.

The same Commodities, and many others, as *Druggs* of all Kinds, *Sugar, Oil, Paper, Brandy, and dying Stuffs*, are sent by the *Dutch* to DANTZICK, where they are exchanged against the Productions of the fertile Kingdom of *POLAND*, and *ROYAL PRUSSIA*, subject to that *Crown*. These are *Grain* of all Kinds, which the *Dutch* take off from this famous Port in immense Quantities, *Iron, Lead, Copper, Quick-silver, Vitriol, Saltpetre, Sulphur, and Tellow Amber; Masts, and Planks; Hemp, and Flax; Pitch, Tar, Hides Furrs, and Wooll*.

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The DUCAL PRUSSIA, now subject to his MAJESTY of that Name, ELECTOR of BRANDENBURGH, is very fruitful in all Kinds of *Grain*, and particularly *Wheat*. The Commerce of this Country is carried on by *Coningsberg*, situated on the Mouth of the *Pregel*, where One likewise finds several Commodities of the great *Dutchy* of *Lithuania*, and some Parts of *Poland*; such as small *Oak* for Cooper's Work; *Leather*, *Furrs*, *Rice*, *Honey*, *Wax*, *Barley*, *Millet*, *Hemp*, and *Ashes*. The *Dutch* take off a-bundance of these Commodities, and hither They bring, *Spices*, *Wines*, *Druggs*, *Cheese*, *Salt*, *Tobacco*, *Iron*, *Lead*, *Tin*, and old *Dutch Dollars*.

The DUTCHY of COURLAND, has a considerable Trade with *Holland*, for *Linseed*, *Wheat* and *Timber*, which is carried on by the Two Sea-Ports of this Country, *Libaw* and *Memel*; and the *Dutch* bring hither the same Commodities as to *Prussia*.

LIVONIA, now subject 'to *Muscovy*, is naturally one of the most fertile Provinces of *Europe*, and the best situated to command the Trade of the *BALTICK*. *Revel*, *Riga*, *Narva*, and *Pernaw*, are the Sea-Ports of this Country, by which the whole Trade between *Europe* and *Russia*, was formerly

carried on: But several Things have concurred to destroy the Welfare of this Province, and frustrate the Advantages which It ought naturally to derive from Its Situation and Fertility. *War, Famine, and Pestilence*, have very much lessen'd the Number of Its Inhabitants; and *Archangel* having been discovered by the *English* about the Middle of the last Century, the Czar omitted Nothing that might encourage Them to settle there, and from that Time the Trade of *Muscovy* was turned into a new Channel. *LIVONIA* was then subject to the Crown of *SWEDEN*; but the Fate of *War* having brought this Province under the Domination of the *Muscovites*, Its Commerce begins to revive, especially at *Riga*, from whence the *Dutch* fetch every Year vast Quantities of *Wheat* and other *Grain*, *Masts*, *Cooper's Wood*, *Oak*, and *Deals*; *Flax*, *Hemp*, and *Linseed*; *Honey*, *Wax*, and *Tallow*: To purchase which, They carry *Spices*, *Tobacco*, *Sugar*, *Salt*, *Paper*, *Iron-work*, and small *Wares*, with considerable Quantities of *Linnen* and *Woollen Manufactures*.

I have just now said, that the Trade between *EUROPE* and *MUSCOVY*, was formerly carried on by the Ports of *Livonia*, when upon settling an *English Factory* at *Archangel*, on very advantageous Terms, the
Course

Course of the *Russian Commerce* was immediately diverted from *Livonia*, to that Port; situated in the *White Sea*, near the River *DUINA*, which wathes the greatest Part of *Muscovy*.

The *Dutch* soon obtained Leave to trade to *Archangel* as well as the *English*, and notwithstanding our being first in Possession, in less than twenty Years after our Discovery of this Port, which was in 1653, They sent thither ten Ships for our One.

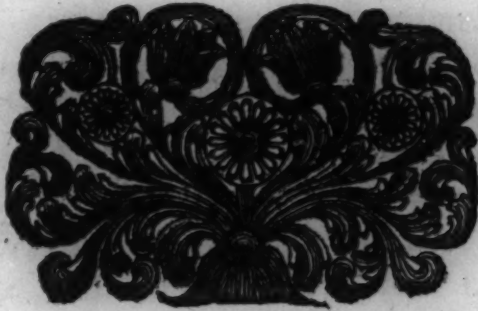
We have seen in our own Days the Commerce of *Muscovy* transferred from *Archangel* to *Petersburgh*, a Town situated at the utmost Extremity of the *Baltick*, and founded by the late *Emperor of Russia*, who has omitted Nothing to make It flourish, and it will probably one Day become the Capital of that vast *Empire*, as it is now the ordinary Residence of the Court.

The Trade carried on between *Muscovy* and *Holland* by this Port, is of the utmost Importance to both Nations. *Spices* pass like ready Money in *Muscovy*, and 'tis confidently affirmed, the *Dutch* export thither every Year near a thousand Bales of *Pepper* and *Nutmegs* only; with large Quantities of the finer *Spices*, as well as *Druggs*, dying Stuffs, *Tobacco*, *French* and *Spanish Wines*, *Brandy*, *Oil*,
 Z 4 *Vinegar*;

Vinegar, with the several Kinds of wet and dried Fruits of the Southern Climates, vast Quantities of Herrings, Linnen, and woollen Manufactures of the coarser Kind, Silks of all sorts and Colours ; Gold and Silver Brocades, rich Ribbands, Hats, Paper, Soap, Iron Work and small Wares. In Return for which They bring back Cables : Beaver and other Furs; prodigious Quantities of Russia-Leather, dressed in a Manner peculiar to that Country, which they afterwards vend with very great Profit in Spain and Italy : abundance of excellent Masts, Hemp, and Flax, Pitch, Tar, Tallow and Ashes. Wax is another Russian Commodity, and the Dutch import incredible Quantities of It, which they refine in Holland and sell afterwards in the Roman Catholick Countries with an excessive Profit. The Article of Caviar deserves our Notice. This is no more than the Spawn of Sturgeon ordered in a particular Manner, by the Muscovites, and the Dutch take off large Quantities which they sell in Italy, to very great Advantage.

Upon the whole, it will be easily allowed that the Ballance of Trade is in the Favour of *Muscovy* ; notwithstanding the many Species of Goods the *Dutch* export thither ; for the Quantity of *Merchandize* they bring from *Russia*, is almost incredible, and the
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Difference is paid in *Specie*, which the *Dutch* sufficiently re-imburse to Themselves, by the Gain they make upon the several *Russian Commodities*, which they re-export to the different Countries of *Europe*.



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SECT. VI.
OF THE
DUTCH TRADE
TO
GERMANY,

by the RIVERS,

*Elbe, Weser, Rhine, Moselle,
Mein, and Maese.*



THE River ELBE, after having traversed the Kingdom of BOHEMIA, where it has its Source, and the Electorates of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Hanover, falls into the German Ocean, a little below *Hamburg*; in which

which City, the DUTCH transact all their Commerce with those Parts of *Germany*, which are washed by this River. Hither they bring *Spices, Druggs, Herrings, Woollen and Silk Manufactures, small Wares, and Toys*: for which They have in *Exchange*, vast quantities of *Timber* for Shipping, *Wine, Corn, Brass-Wire, White Iron* from *Saxony*, and many other Commodities, peculiar to the *North*.

By the *WESER* they carry on the Trade of *BREMEN*, and several fertile *Provinces* of the *Lower Germany*, which furnish the best *Timber* of all the *North, Wheat, Wool, Metals* of several Kinds, and *Gum*: to purchase which, They send *woollen and Silk, Manufactures, Spices, Druggs, dying Stuffs, and small Wares*.

By the *RHINE*, and the Rivers that discharge Themselves into it, the *Dutch* carry on the most important Trade of *Germany*. This famous Stream is in a manner navigable for three hundred Leagues together, from *SWITZERLAND*, where it has its Rise, to the *Province of Holland*, where it disembogues it self into the Ocean.

At *COBLENTZ*, It receives the *Moselle*, which traversing *Lorraine* and the whole *Electorate of Triers*, falls into the *Rhine* at this Place, bringing with it vast Quantities of the *Wines* that grow on its own Banks, and
other

other Commodities, which are from thence sent down to COLOGNE, long since eminent for *Commerce*, and the Place of greatest Consideration on the *Rhine*. From hence the *Dutch* have *Wine* and *Timber*, *Iron*, *Cannon*, and *Bullets*; and hither they bring their own *Silk* and *Woollen Manufactures*, *Spices*, *Druggs*, *Herrings*, *Sugars*, *Cheese*, and many other Particulars.

Next to the *Moselle*, the *Mein* is the most considerable of those Rivers that feed the *Rhine*. This Stream, after traversing all *FRANCONIA*, one of the finest and most fertile *Provinces* of *Germany*, loses it self in the *Rhine*, near *MENTZ*, and brings with it the Commodities of *FRANKFORT* and *NUREMBERG*. These are *Copper*, *Iron*, several kinds of *Cutler's Ware*, and other Merchandize, which the *Dutch* purchase with their *Silk* and *Cloth*, their *Spices*, *Herrings*, *Druggs*, *dyeing Stuffs*, &c. And in this Manner, the Exchange is made with all the other Countries, situated on the *Rhine*, or on those Rivers that have a Communication with it.

By the *MAESE*, the *Dutch* carry on the Trade of *LIEGE*, *AIX-la-CHAPELLE*, and the circumjacent Parts of *Germany*. To *LIEGE*, they carry *Herrings*, *Spices*, *Druggs*, both for the *Apothecary* and *Painter*; great quantities of *Woollen Goods*, *Silks* of different

ferent Kinds, and several other *Manufactures*; in Exchange for which, They bring back a great deal of *Brass*, and *Copper-Work*, made at *Aix-la-Chapelle*; wrought *Steel* and *Iron* from *Liege*; *Muskets*, *Swords*, *Bullets*, *Bombs*, *Granadoes*, *Lead*, *Pit-Coal*, and *Slate*.

We may venture to decide, that the *Balance of Trade*, in all these different *Branches* of the *German Commerce*, is excessively in favour of the *Hollander*.



S E C T



S E C T. VII.
OF THE
DUTCH TRADE
TO THE
AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS,
And the Southern Parts of
*Europe, France, Spain, Portu-
gal, Italy, and the Levant.*



WE have seen above, in what Manner the vast Commerce once established in the *Low Countries*, now called the AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS, was destroyed ; the *Restoration* of which, has hitherto been opposed with ve-
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ry great Industry, and equal Success, by the *Hollander*, and particularly, by the People of *Amsterdam*, whose Commerce was in a great Measure founded on the ruin of *Antwerp*. The Trade the *Dutch* have carried on to these Countries, for about an hundred Years past, has been prodigiously in their own Favour, and very great Sums have been drawn from the *Netherlands*, to discharge the *Ballance* due to the *Hollander*, which will evidently appear, when we consider the Nature and Quantity, of the Merchandize, that these Countries exchange with each Other. From *Antwerp*, *Mecklin*, and *Brussels*, the *Dutch* bring *Lace*, *Thread*, and *Tapestry*, all very beautiful in their Kinds. At *GHENT*, they buy abundance of *Serges*, *Lawns*, *Cambricks*, *Diapers*, and other Sorts of *Linnen*. *BRUGES* affords the same Commodities, with exception to the *Serges*; but in the room of this Particular, we may reckon *Sheep's-Leather*, of which, there is a very large quantity dressed here, in great Perfection. *AUDENARD*, is particularly famous for *Tapestry*; and these are the principal Merchandizes which the *Dutch* import from that Part of the *Netherlands*, in subjection to the *Emperor* Countries, which ever since, and even before the Peace of *Munster*, have always taken off vast Quantities

Quantities of *Dutch Manufactures*, both *Silk* and *Woollen*, with the whole Product of the *Indies*, *Spices*, *Druggs*, *Tea*, and *Coffee*, *Muslin*, and all sorts of *Indian Stuffs*; a great Quantity of *Herrings*, and other Commodities.

We have lately seen an Attempt made by the present EMPEROR, to restore their long alienated Commerce, by granting a *Charter*, for establishing an *India Company* in the *Low Countries*; and were this to proceed, it must put a stop to the advantageous Trade the *Dutch* enjoy with the People of these Provinces, and be the Parent of many other Alterations in the Commerce and Interests of *Europe*. But this new Establishment, has met with so strong an Opposition from the Allies of *Hanover*, that we already see the Company's Trade to *India* suspended for seven Years; which, in all Probability, will be succeeded by an entire Annihilation. As This is yet undetermined however, and as the *Ostend Company*, is still one of those Points, which employ the Politics, of almost every Court of *Europe*. It may, perhaps, be neither impertinent, nor unuseful, in the sequel of this Discourse, to shew on one Hand, the Grounds upon which the *Emperor* pretends a Right to erect this new *India Company*; and
on

on the other side, the Pretentions the *Dutch* make to the *Indian Trade*, exclusive of the People of the *Austrian Netherlands*; with the Consequences that will naturally arise from the Prosperity of the *New Company*, if it be suffered to continue, and the Influence it will have on the Affairs of *Europe*. All which, will naturally fall under our Enquiry, when we come to examine the Alliances of the *States General*.

The Trade the *DUTCH* have carried on with *FRANCE*, ever since the Rise of their *Republic*, has been highly considerable, and of great Importance to both Nations, but especially to *France*, from the prodigious Quantities of *french* Merchandize, which the *Dutch* stood in Need of, either for *Home Consumption*, or to carry on their Trade with other Nations. *Monsieur de Wit*, computes, that about the Year 1658, the *Dutch* paid the *French* annually, upwards of *Thirty Millions of Florins in ready Money*, over and above the *Exchange of Commodities*. And notwithstanding They have since set up several Manufactures, that were before peculiar to *France*, in which they have been very successful, and consequently, the Importation of several Species of *french* Merchandize into *Holland*, is extreamly diminished, yet, 'tis very certain, the Ballance still remains in Favour of the *French*. We have

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already taken Notice, that in the Year 1658, *Monsieur Boreel*, the *Dutch Ambassador* in *France*, convinced that Court, how important the *Dutch Trade* was to the *French Nation*. To do this, He prevailed with the united Body of Merchants at *Paris*, to make a Calculation of the several kinds of *French Commodities*; and what Quantities of Them were exported to *Holland*, which *Mr. Boreel* presented to the King, as follows.

1. In Velvets, Plush, Satins, Gold and Silver Stuffs, Tafetas, and other Silk Stuffs of *Tours*, and *Lions*, to the Value of six millions of *Livres*, and upwards. } 6000000
2. In Ribbons, Silk and Thread Laces, Buttons and Taggs, made at *Paris*, *Roan*, and the adjacent Towns, to the Value of two Millions. } 2000000
3. In Castors, and other Sorts of Hats, made at *Paris*, and *Roan*, to the Value of one million five hundred thousand *Livres*. } 1500000

4. In

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| 4. In Plumes, Belts, Umbrellas, Masks, Head-Dresses, Looking-glasses, Gilt-frames, Watches, and several Kinds of Toys and Trinkets which the <i>French</i> term <i>Bijoux</i> , to the Value of <i>two Millions</i> . | } 2000000 |
| 5. In Gloves, made at <i>Paris</i> , <i>Clermont</i> , <i>Vendosme</i> , and <i>Roan</i> , to the Value of <i>one million five hundred thousand Livres</i> . | } 1500000 |
| 6. In Woollen-yarn spun, in <i>Picardy</i> , to the Value of <i>five hundred thousand Livres</i> . | } 500000 |
| 7. In Paper of all Sorts, made in <i>Poitou</i> , <i>Champagne</i> , <i>Limoſin</i> , <i>Auvergne</i> , and <i>Normandy</i> , to the Value of <i>two Millions</i> . | } 2000000 |
| 8. In Pins and Needles, and in Ivory, Ebony, Box, and Horn Combs, made at <i>Paris</i> , and in <i>Normandy</i> , for <i>five hundred thousand Livres</i> . | } 500000 |
| 9. In small Iron and Steel Wares, made at <i>Auvergne</i> , to the Value of <i>five hundred thousand Livres</i> . | } 500000 |
| 10. In Sail Cloath from <i>Normandy</i> and <i>Brittany</i> for above <i>five Millions</i> . | } 5000000 |

11. In Chamber Furniture of all Kinds; Beds, Matresses, Quilts, Blankets, Fringes, &c. for above <i>five Millions</i> .	} 5000000
12. In Wines of several Growths, for above <i>nine Millions</i> .	} 9000000
13. Brandy, Vinegar, and Sy- der, for above <i>two Millions</i> .	} 2000000
14. In Saffron, Soap, Honey, Almonds, Olives, Capers, Pruens, and other Fruit, to the Value of <i>two Millions</i> .	} 2000000
Total 39500000	

To which must be added, *five or six hundred Ship Loads* of Salt, which the *Dutch* fetch every Year from *Rockel, Maran, Brouage*, and the *Isles of Oleron and Ree*.

It is undeniable, that at the Time of making this Calculation, the *FRENCH* were immense Gainers by their Commerce with *HOLLAND*; and tho' several of the above Manufactures are now made to good Perfection by the *Dutch*, yet the Importation of french Goods into *Holland* still continues to be very considerable. All the Particulars of the 4th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 12th, and 13th Articles, come thither in as great Quantities as ever, and considerable of all the Rest, even of Those which the *Hollanders* have most happily imitated.

The

The *Dutch* carry to *FRANCE* in their Turn, all Sorts of *Spices*, and *Druggs*; dyeing *Stuffs*, *Linnen* of several Kinds, *Steel*, *Copper*, white *Iron Wire*, *Arms*, *Gunpowder*, *Sulphur*, *Match*, *Russia-Leather*, and other *Northern* Productions; *Furrs*, *Hemp*, *Flax*, *Pitch* and *Tar*, *Masts*, *Planks*, and all other Sorts of *Timber*, both for *Shipping* and *Houses*; together with a considerable Quantity of *Herrings*, and other *Salt-Fish*, *Butter*, *Cheese*, *Tallow*, &c. yet all this does by no Means countervail, the vast Quantity of *French Goods* They import, and the Difference must be paid in *Money*; notwithstanding which, the *French Trade* is far from being destructive to the *Hollanders*, because the prodigious Quantity of *Goods* They import from *France* is not consumed at Home, but sent out again in different Proportions to all the *Northern Nations*, and even to the *East* and *West-Indies*; so that upon the whole, We may say that this Trade is of great Importance to the *Dutch*, but absolutely necessary to the *French*.

If *FRANCE* gains extreamly by the *DUTCH*, the Trade with *SPAIN* is on the other Hand, prodigiously in Favour of the *Hollander*. This Commerce is divided into three Branches. That of the *Northern Parts* of *SPAIN*, *Old Castile*, *Leon*, *Arragon*, *Navarre*, *Gnipus*

coa, and the *Asturies*, is carried on principally by the Ports of *Bilboa*, and *St. Sebastian*. The Commerce of the *Southern Provinces*, which lie on the *Mediterranean*, is almost entirely transacted at *Alicant*, *Malaga*, *Carthagena*, and *Majorca*. The *third Branch*, which is of far greater Importance both to the *Spaniard* and the *Hollander* than the other Two, is the Trade of *Cadiz*, which comprehends That of the *Spanish West-Indies*, in which the *Dutch* are every Year very deeply concerned, notwithstanding the severe Prohibitions made by the *Court of Madrid*, to prevent and deter *Foreigners* from having any Share in this Commerce.

The Commodities the *DUTCH* export to *SPAIN*, for the Consumption of that *Kingdom*, and the Exportation to *America*, are hardly to be enumerated. *Linnens* of all Sorts; *Hollands*, *Cambricks*, *Lawns*, and *Muslins*; fine and coarse *Callicoes*; *Table Linnen*, *Tapes*, and *Filitings*, are brought to all the Ports abovementioned, in prodigious Quantities. There is an equal Demand for their *Woollen Manufactures*, *Broad-cloath*, *Camblets*, and *Serges*. *Gold* and *Silver-Brocades*, with several other Sorts of *Silks*, make another Article of great Importance. They bring likewise great Quantities of *Paper*, *Cards*, *Lace*, *Ribands*, *Hats*, and *small Wares* of

of *Steel, Copper, and Iron*; great Quantities of *Timber* for Building; *Wood* for *Barrels*, with other Productions of the *NORTH*, such as *Russia-Leather*, white and yellow *Wax*, of which Commodity alone, they are said to sell the *Spaniards* every Year, to the Value of *four hundred thousand Pound Sterling*, which is owing to the prodigious Consumption of It in the *Churches* of *Spain*, and *America*; and to these we must add, abundance of *naval Stores, Pitch, Tar, Cordage, Masts, Planks*, and all Sorts of *Ammunition*. After which we may reckon *Provisions* of several Kinds, *Herrings, Cod*, and other *Salt-Fish, Corn, Butter, and Cheese*.

It remains, that we mention the *Spices*, and *Druggs*, of both which there, is a very great Consumption, both in *Spain*, and *America*. The *DUTCH*, as is observed above, being Masters of the fine *Spices, Cloves, Nutmegs*, and *Cinnamon*, They alone, sell these Commodities to the *Spaniards*; And 'tis affirmed, that near one half of all the *Cinnamon* They bring from *India*, is consumed in *Spain*, and *America*; principally by Those of *Peru*, in making *Chocolate*. They serve the *Spaniards* likewise, with a considerable Quantity of *Pepper*, and abundance of *Druggs* that are used both *Medicinally*, and for *Colouring*.

In Return for so large and rich a Cargo, the *Dutch* import from the *Northern* Parts of *Spain*, great quantities of *fine Wool*, which is wrought up in their *Manufactures*. A great Quantity of *Iron*, *Chestnuts*, *Limons*, *Oranges*, and *Anchovies*. The *Southern* Provinces furnish Them also with abundance of *fine Wool*, and great quantities of *Oil*, *Olives*, *Figs*, *Raisins*, *Almonds*, *Aniseeds*, and several other Fruits, *Salt*, *Soap* and *Wines*, of which, They take off great Quantities, especially, when their Commerce with *France* is interrupted.

From *CADIZ*, They bring back many of the above-mentioned Particulars ; but what is of far greater Consequence, They receive upon the arrival of the *Galleons* and *Flo-tilla*, from the *West-Indies*, a very large Sum of Money, in Payment for the Commodities They send thither. This rich Return is made in the Productions of *AME-RICA*, *Gold* and *Silver*, with such other Commodities, as pass every where for Ready Money, *Pearls*, *Emeralds*, *Cochinele*, *Tobacco*, *Cocoa*, *Indigo*, *Quinquina*, *Vanilles*, *Leather*, *Wood*, from the *Bay of Campechy*, and several other Particulars. The *GALLEONS*, for *Carthagera*, and *Portobello*, and the *FLO-TILLA*, for *Vera-Cruz*, sail constantly from *Cadiz*, and return thither. It is generally known,

known, that the *Court of Madrid* prohibits all Strangers to trade to the *Spanish West-Indies*, without *Licence*, upon very severe Penalties. Yet, the *Dutch*, as well as the *English* and *French*, find means to drive a Trade with those Countries, almost to as good a Purpose, as if They had an open Permission, or an *Assiento*; and this is done by entrusting their Goods with *Spanish Merchants*, who sell Them in their own Names; and, as faithful *Factors*, never fail to return the just Product, after deducting the Charges of the *Commission*, as agreed on.

It was never to be pretended, and much less, since the late Rupture, that the *Court of Madrid* is ignorant, in what manner the *Dutch*, and other Nations, evade her Prohibitions, to trade to the *Spanish Colonies* in *America*; but why this clandestine Commerce is tollerated, is a Question, that will not be so easily resolved. I do not think it sufficient to say, that Policy engages the *Spaniard* to wink at it: I am sure it will always be very ill Policy in any *State*, to suffer a Neighbour to take annually half a Million of Money out of her Coffers, if there be a possibility of preventing it. We must therefore ask a better Reason; and I believe the true One is, that the *Spaniards*, who of all Mankind,
are

are the worst *Oeconomists*, are so poor, that it is not in their Power to purchase such a Cargo as is absolutely necessary for the Supply of *America*; otherwise, nothing would be so natural, as for the very Merchants, who now send the *Dutch*, *English*, and *French* Goods thither upon Commission, to buy Them up at *Cadiz*, and by consigning them to *America* upon their own Accounts, secure the Profits of the Return to Themselves. But this They are not able to do; and the *Dutch*, who, upon all Occasions, are very ready to sell upon *Trust*, and do really give the longest Credit of any Nation in *Europe*, refuse it to the *Spaniards*, because by that means, They make themselves Principals in the Cargo to *America*.

We have already observed, that when the CROWN of PORTUGAL became re-united to that of SPAIN, in the time of PHILIP II, all Commerce between HOLLAND and that CROWN ceased. The PORTUGUEZE became Parties to PHILIP'S Quarrel with his *Netherland Subjects*, and War ensued between Them and the *Dutch*, which in the end, cost *Portugal* almost all it possessed in the *East-Indies*; In which Posture Things continued for sixty Years, when the *Portuguese* revolted from *Spain*, and Crowned the Duke of BRAGANZA their KING, who immediately

mediately made a Truce with the *United Provinces*. This however, was not well observed. A second War broke out between the two Nations; and the Quarrel was never thoroughly healed, till 1661, when a *Treaty of Peace* was concluded between Them, by the Mediation of CHARLES II, KING of ENGLAND; since which Time, Commerce has been carried on between HOLLAND and PORTUGAL, without any Interruption.

The Merchandize of this Kingdom, consists in its own Productions, and those that are Imported from the *Portuguese Colonies*, and *Plantations* in the *East and West-Indies*, *Brazil*, the *Cape de Verde Islands*, and the *Terceras*.

PORTUGAL produces *Wine*, *Oil*, *Olives*, *Aniseeds*, *Lemons*, *Oranges*, *Raisins*, and *Figs*. From the *East-Indies*, they import great quantities of *Diamonds* and *Pearls*, *Indigo*, *Ginger*, *Ambergrease*, and several other Particulars. The principal Commodities of *Brazil*, are *Sugar*, *Tobacco*, and the *Wood*, which bears its Name. The *Cape de Verde Islands*, and the *Terceras*, abound also in *Sugar*; and the *Isle of Madera*, which produces the best, is at the same time, famous for excellent *Wine*. These are the principal Commodities that are found in
Portugal

Portugal; of which the *Dutch* take off *Sugar, Tobacco, and Fruits*, in great Quantities. LISBON, is the Port They generally trade to; and hither They bring the *Woollen and Silk Manufactures of Holland*; a great deal of *Linnen, Spices, Herrings*, and other *salt Fish, Leather, Paper, Cards, Iron-Work, small Wares, and Corn*, when there is a scarcity of It in *Portugal*. The *Hollanders* employ forty or fifty Sail of Ships in this Commerce, and the *Ballance of Trade* is largely in their Favour.

GENOA, LEGHORN, VENICE, NAPLES, and MESSINA, are the principal Ports of ITALY. These afford plain and wrought *Velvets*; Gold and Silver *Brocades, Sattins*, and *Damasks*, either plain, or with Gold and Silver Grounds, wonderfully rich and beautiful beyond Expression; *Tabbies, Gold Thread, &c.*

It is unnecessary to say more of Commodities, that are so common amongst Us, and so generally admired. SILK is the Basis of the *Italian Trade*, and of this, the *Dutch* bring Home very great quantities in all its Shapes, whether raw, twisted, or woven; with abundance of the inferior Merchandize of ITALY, *Oil, Limons, Oranges*, and several dried *Fruits, Figs, Raisins, Almonds*; with *Marble, Soap, Essences,*

sences, *Allom*, *Sulphur*, *Venetian Steel*, *Amber*, *Turpentine*, *Manna*, *Crete-Tartar*, *fine Lacca*, *Snuff*, and *Glass*. *Confections*, and several kinds of *Provisions*, such as *Anchovies*, *Parmesan Cheese*, and *Sausages*, make another Article in the *Italian Commerce*; all which are purchased by the following *Commodities*, which the *Dutch* export to *Italy*, directly from *Holland*. A great quantity of *fine Spices* and *Pepper*, *Herrings*, *Cod*, *Stock-Fish*, *Salmon*, and in General, all sorts of *salted* and *dried Fish*. Abundance of *Caviear*, a great deal of *Wheat*, and other *Grain*; *Russia-Leather*, *Iron*, *Copper*, *Pitch*, *Tar*, *Masts*, *Planks*, *Hemp*, and all other *Naval Stores*. *Tin* and *Lead*; most kinds of *Woollen* and *Linnen Manufactures*, *Linnen Thread*, *Walebone*, &c. which several *Merchandizes* are brought indifferently to every *Port* above-mentioned; and to the *Inferior Ports* of the *Mediterranean*, with exception only to *Venice*, where *Cloth*, *Iron*, and *Steel*, are *Prohibited*; but all the other *Particulars*, have a *free Entry* there also.

S E C T



SECT VIII.
OF THE
DUTCH TRADE
TO THE
LEVANT.



THE Trade carried on from HOLLAND to the LEVANT, is of very great Importance to the *Republic*, both for the Quantity and Quality of Merchandize exported thither, as well as that which the *Dutch* bring from thence, and distribute afterwards, with very great Profit to the different *People* of *Europe*.

Of

Of all the *Sea-Ports* within the Dominions of the GRAND SEIGNIOR, SMIRNA is the most considerable, for the resort of *European Vessels*. She is oblig'd for this Advantage to the CARAVANS, that come regularly thither with the Productions of *Persia*; and these, the *Dutch* take in exchange for the Commodities They carry to *Smirna*, which are equally proper for *Persia* and *Turkey*. The Merchandize brought by the *Caravans*, consists of *Silks*, *Muslins*, *Callicoes*, *Goats-Hair* for *Camblets*; *Rhubarb*, and *Scammony* from *Tartary*, *Galbanum*, *Tutia*, *Ippomenes*; with great quantities of other rich *Druggs*, and several sorts of *Gumms*. Besides these, *Smirna* is the greatest Market for the Productions of *TURKEY*, and the Islands of the *Archipelago*, of which, the principal are *Cardovan*, or *Turkey-Leather*, which the *Dutch* take off in great quantities; *Cotton* from *Cyprus*; *Currants* from *Zant* and *Cephalonia*; *Mastick* from *Chio*, and sometimes great quantities of *Corn* from the adjacent Islands.

After *Smirna*, Grand CAIRO is the most considerable Town for Commerce in the Dominions of the TURK. This City, is indeed, but the Shadow of what She formerly was, when the whole Trade of the *East-Indies* was carried on by the *Red-Sea*,
and

and the *Nile*; yet, She is still the general Magazine for all the Productions of the Kingdom of *Egypt*; and still retains some Commerce with *Arabia felix*, *Persia*, and the nearest Parts of the *East-Indies*. GRAND CAIRO, affords *Coffee*, *Frankincence*, *Sena*, *Aloes*, *Cassia*, *Sal-Armoniac*, *Tamarinds*, *Pine Kernels*, *Ostrich Feathers*; and several other Commodities. *Alexandria* and *Rhodes*, situated on the two Entrances of the *Nile*, are the Sea-Ports of this City, for the Reception of *Christian Vessels*; as *Damietta*, which lies on the same River, is for Those of *Turkey* and *Africa*.

I could not help saying something of *Grand Cairo*, tho' the *Dutch* have very little Trade with that City, and still less with *Constantinople* and *Aleppo*, which abound with the same kinds of Commodities, that are found at *Grand Cairo*. SMIRNA, is the Centre of all their Traffick to *Turkey*, and the *Levant*; and hither They bring vast quantities of their *Cloth*, and other *Woollen Manufactures*; many of the *Baltick* Commodities: *Steel* and *Iron*, in several Shapes, *tinned Iron*, *Iron-Wire*, and *Brass*; a great deal of *Russia-Leather*; almost all the *Lead* and *Tin*, They bring from the *East-Indies*, and all They can procure from *England*: To which we must add, many of the finest
Woods

Woods and Druggs for Dyeing; Cochineel Gumlac, and Indigo; Fernambouc, Brazillet, Siampan, and Campechy. In the Rear of these, we may reckon the *Spices*, which, by a most astonishing *Revolution* in *Commerce*, the *Dutch* now bring, after a difficult *Navigation*, of seven or eight Thousand *Leagues*, to those very *Countries*, which formerly supplied all *Europe*, with these *Commodities* *Cloves, Nutmeggs, Mace, and Cinnamon*; with *Pepper, Ginger, and Sugar*, are brought from *Holland* to *Smirna*, in very great *Quantities*: And besides all these, They also carry thither several *Italian* and *Spanish Commodities*; For the *Dutch*, in their way from *Holland*, never fail to touch either at *Cadiz*, or *Leghorn*, where they furnish Themselves with such Things, as are proper for the Market at *Smirna*; and in the same manner, They call at those Places in their Return Home, where they dispose of many Particulars, that They bring from the *Levant*.

The *Ballance* upon this Trade, is very much against the *Dutch*; and accordingly, They carry to *Smirna*, a great Quantity of their own *Dollers*, and Pieces of *Eight*, which they buy at *Cadiz*, and *Leghorn*; yet, this is far from impoverishing *Holland*, because of the *Commodities* brought from

the *Levant*, not one Fourth is consumed there, and the rest, is sold out again to the several Nations the *Dutch* deal with, at a Price that sufficiently pays the Interest of the Money They advanced at *Smirna*.

The STATES GENERAL, have shewn, upon all Occasions, that They thought this Commerce, of very great Importance to their Subjects; and have always been very attentive to every Thing that might possibly promote it. It was with this view, that They constituted a Court of *Directors*, for the Trade of the *Mediterranean*, and the *Levant*; which consists of six *Commissioners* and a *Register*, who are charged with the Execution of all *Laws* and *Resolutions*, made by the *States General*, with relation to this *Commerce*. They nominate, with the Consent of the *States*, the *Consul* of *Smirna*, and the other *Vice Consuls* of the *Levant*: They advise the *Admiralty*, what Number of *Men of War* are necessary for *Convoys*, and in general, They inspect all Affairs, and terminate all Disputes concerning this Trade. The *States General* have always maintained a *Minister* at the *Porte*, in Quality of *Envoy*, whose Business consists in little more, than taking Care of the trading Interest. We now first see,

MONSIEUR

MONSIEUR CALCOEN, appointed to succeed COUNT COLLIAR, with the Title of *Embassador*, but as this Character must necessarily draw on an Additional Expence, it was very much contested by those *Provinces*, who have not an equal Interest in the Trade to the *Levant*, with that of *Holland*.

For a few Years past that the *Dutch* have been at War with the *Algerines*, their *Levant Trade* has been in a good Measure, carried on in *English Bottoms*, to the great Detriment of their own *Navigation*, and the Encouragement of Ours; but They have now made Peace with that *State*, and consequently, their own Ships will be again employ'd in this Commerce.





S E C T. VIII.
OF THE
DUTCH TRADE
TO
ENGLAND,
Scotland, and Ireland.



THE Neighbourhood of ENGLAND, and HOLLAND, naturally produced a very early Correspondence between the two Nations, which since the Formation of the *Republic*, has encreased, in Proportion to the Augmentation of Commerce on both Sides, and as the Necessity of the Times required.

It

It shall be the Business of this SECTION, to describe *Trade*, as it now subsists, between the *English* and the *Dutch*, without examining what is well, or what may want a Reformation, which is an Enquiry I reserve, amongst others, for the third Part of this Discourse.

Our Commerce with *Holland*, is carried on almost entirely in our own Bottoms, from all the most considerable Ports in the *Kingdom*. I have already taken Notice, That *ROTTERDAM*, is in Possession of the *British* and *Irish* Trades, almost to an Exclusion of the other Towns of *Holland*, and accordingly Her Canals, are in a Manner always filled with Ships and Vessels from *London*, *Tarmouth*, and the other Ports of *Norfolk*, and from *Newcastle*, *Shields*, *Hull*, *Whitehaven*, *Liverpool*, *Bristol*, *Topsham*; and the most considerable Ports of *Scotland* and *Ireland*.

The principal Commodities sent thither from *England*, are *Woollen Manufactures* of several Sorts, *Broad-cloaths*, *Norwich-crapes*, and other *Stuffs*; *Grain* of several Kinds; *Tin*, *Lead*, and *Coals*; *Tobacco*, and *Sugar*. In the second Class, We may reckon *Tea*, *Coffee*, *Stockings*, *Hats*, and some other small Articles. Our fine *Broad-cloaths*, bear a good Price in *Holland*, for tho' the *Dutch* make

Woollen Cloath, in a tolerable Perfection, They are, however inferior to Us, in many Branches of the *Manufactory*, and particularly in *mixing* their *Colours*; and in *milling* and *shearing* the *Cloath*. Those who understand the least of the *woollen Manufactory* know, that the Beauty of *Cloath* depends very much upon the *Shearing*; and if the *Dutch* were not a People extremely tenacious of old Customs; a *Spanish Quality* that They still retain amongst Others, They had now been very well instructed how to perform that Part of the *Manufactory*, in the *English Manner*. There has been for some Years past, a *Shearmaker* in *Holland*, called *Turner*, Son to the famous *Shearmaker* of that Name, in *London*, who not only makes, grinds, and sets *Shears*, to the greatest Nicety and Perfection, even beyond the Imitation of Those who are commonly stiled good Workmen; but can also shear with great Dexterity. This Person first carried his Art to *Abbeville*, where having given all the Insight He could, to the celebrated *Monsieur van Robais*; He came a few Years ago to *Holland*, and found a very good Reception amongst the Manufacturers of *Leyden*, where He both makes abundance of *Shears*, sets a great many more, and finds the Means to have large Quantities from *London*, notwithstanding their Expor-

Exportation is prohibited. I am very well assured, He has more than once offered to instruct the Workmen of *Leyden* in our Method of Shearing, which Nothing but an Aversion to Novelty, and the natural Perverseness of their Temper prevents Them from acquiring. *Turner*, notwithstanding the Advantages I have mentioned, remains extremely poor, through an idle, and spendthrift Disposition, so that a small Sum of Money, and his Pardon, might probably tempt him Home.

Formerly, the *English* kept Ware-houses for their Woollen Manufactures at *Dort*, which was the Staple Mart for that Trade; but at present the *Dutch* commission their Factors in *England*, to buy up what they have Occasion for, which is accordingly done, and the Goods are consigned directly to Themselves. I may add, under this Article, that besides the Cloath, the *Dutch* take from Us, for their own Use, *Holland* is the Passage for a vast Quantity of coarse woollen Manufactures of *Torkshire* and *Lancashire*, which are consumed in the adjacent Parts of *Germany*.

GRAIN, of several Kinds, is an Article of great Importance in our Trade to *Holland*. Most of the *Wheat* the *Dutch* take from Us, is exported from *London*, and It would

be difficult to say the vast Quantities of *Malt* and other Grain that we send Them annually from *Tarmouth* and the other Ports of *Norfolk*. By an Act of *Parliament*, made in the twelfth Year of *QUEEN ANNE*, there was a Drawback allowed of *six Pence per Bushel* upon all *Malt* exported into foreign Countries, the Reason of which, I presume, was to enable the *English Merchant* to furnish the *Southern* Parts of the *Province* of *Holland*, and other Countries, as cheap, or cheaper, than those of *Amsterdam*, could do with the *Malt* They make of the *Barley* imported from the *Baltick*. The Intention of this Act was laudable, but the Abuse of It so enormous, by a fraudulent Manner of working *Malt* designed for *Exportation*, and perhaps in Shipping It too, that the *LEGISLATURE* thought It proper in the *Parliament* of 1726, to repeal that Act, as far as it relates to exported *Malt*; and not without Reason, for by the Knavery of the Exporters, *Malt* was in a Manner paid for by the *Drawback*, so that They might very well afford to sell It cheap at *ROTTERDAM*, where I have seen both *Malt* and *Barley* sold off, for little more than an honest *Malster* in *England* could prepare it, or the *Farmer* get It into his *Barn*.

TIN, and LEAD, are Commodities that need no Encouragement for Exportation. Their Value is commonly known, and they seldom fail to find a quick Market wherever they are sent. The *Dutch* buy all They can get of Us, and re-export a great deal more than They use in their Home Consumption.

COALS, are a good Article in our *Dutch Commerce*, and employ a great many Ships from *Newcastle*, and the *Northern Ports*. 'Tis more than probable too, that this Trade will encrease and grow more advantageous to Us every Year, in proportion, as the *Marshy Lands* in *Holland* are wasted; which now afford an immense Quantity of *Turf*, consumed in the common Firing of the *Netherlands*; but must one Day certainly be exhausted, notwithstanding the nature of the *Soil*, which plumps up and grows incredibly; assisted by the *Slime* and *Mud*, which the *Dutch* collect with great and constant Labour, and throw upon those Places from whence They cut the *Turf*.

TOBACCO and SUGAR, are Articles of the highest consideration, in our Trade with *Holland*, especially the former. Of *Forty Thousand Hogsheads* of *Tobacco*, that we may import from our *Colonies* in the *West-Indies*, *communibus Annis*, not less than *one Third* is

is sent annually to *Holland*, where a vast deal of it is consumed, and the rest sold to the *Germans*, *Norwegians*, and *Others*.

HOLLAND, takes off a great deal of our low prized *Tea*, and damaged *Coffee*, the Consumption, of which, is no where so general as amongst the *Dutch*; so that a good Part of what They buy of Us, is used by themselves, and the rest They retail to our *Sailors*, who run it back into all the different Parts of *England*.

There is some Demand in *Holland*, for our *Stockings*, *Hats*, and other inferior Articles, both for their Home Consumption, and Exportation.

In Return for these several Commodities, the *Dutch* send to *England*, a great Quantity of their fine *Spices*, and some *Druggs*: Abundance of *Linnen* of different sorts; *Velvets*, and other *Silk Manufactures*; a great deal of *Sail Cloth*; large quantities of *Paper*, *Rhenish Wine*, and *French Brandy*, under the Denomination of *Rhenish Wines* of the Growth of *France*, sent by way of *Dunkirk* and *Calais*; Abundance of *Geneva*, and other *Spirits*; A large quantity of a certain dyeing Stuff, called *Mather*, produced in an Island of the *Maeze*; A vast number of *Slit Deals*, and fine *Wainscot Boards*; some *Herrings*, and other salted
Fish

Fish; Many of the Commodities of *Flanders*, and *Brabant*; as *Lace*, *Cambricks*, *Lawns*; and to these, we may add, *Pictures*, *Toys*, and other inferior Articles.

Some of these Particulars may perhaps, come again under our Consideration in the third Part of this Book. In the mean time, I shall venture to ascertain what has passed amongst the Generality of Persons, for a moot Point, whether the *Ballance* of *Trade* be in favour of *England*, or *Holland*; which, after the strictest Examination, of the Quantity and Quality, of the several *Species* of Merchandize that the two *Nations* exchange with each other, and all the Information I have been able to procure from the best Judges, as well as the Inspection of the Entries of *Imports* and *Exports* at *London*, I find, upon a *Medium* of seven Years, to be extreamly in Favour of *England*; but were it exactly at *Par*, the Benefit derived to *Great Britain*, is greater than any that can possibly accrue to *Holland*, by all the Advantages, that naturally arise from carrying on the Trade, almost entirely with our own Ships.

The Trade between *HOLLAND* and *SCOTLAND*, is in the same Manner carried on principally by *Scotch* Vessels. These bring

bring to *Holland* and *Zealand*, several Sorts of course *Woollen Manufactures* in large Quantities; *Lead*, and *Lead Oar*, *Coals*, salted *Salmon*, *Hides*, *Tallow*, *Corn*, and since the *UNION*, a great deal of *Tobacco*. In exchange for which, They carry back the same Commodities that are sent from *Holland* to *England*, in smaller Proportions; to which we may add, *Flax-Seed*, of which They take off annually, a very considerable Quantity.

The Trade the *DUTCH* have with *IRELAND*, is very considerable. *CORK*, *WATERFORD*, and *BELFAST*, are the principal Ports in that Kingdom, for Exportation; from whence They send to *Holland*, a great deal of *barrelled Beef* and *Butter*, *Tallow* and *Hides*, *Wax*, and some other Particulars. The Return is made principally to the Port of *Dublin*; which consists of great Quantities of the fine *Silk* and *Linnen Manufactures* of *Holland*; and in general, the same Commodities, that we have mentioned in the Article of *England*; to which we may add, *Flax-Seed*, which *Ireland* also, has lately begun to take off in large Quantities.

The end of the second PART.



BATAVIA ILLUSTRATA.

OR, AN

ENQUIRY

INTO THE

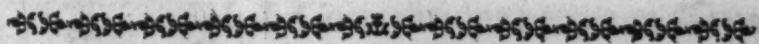
POLICY *and* COMMERCE

OF THE

UNITED PROVINCES.

OF THE

Low Countries.



PART III.



1871
BATAVIA ILLUSTRATED
OF AN
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INTO THE

POLICY OF COMMERCE
OF THE
UNITED PROVINCES
OF THE
Low Countries
PART III





BATAVIA ILLUSTRATA.

PART III.

*An ENQUIRY into the ALLIANCES of
the STATES GENERAL, &c.*

INTRODUCTION:



ALL Conventions between Sovereign Princes, and States, are either Treaties of Peace and Commerce, or Treaties of Alliance. The *First*, which contain a mutual Promise, to do each Other no Injury, and to permit a free
and

and reciprocal Intercourse between the Subjects of either Nation, are founded in the *Law of Nature*, which obliges Us to concur to the Preservation of one another. But the *Second*, which bind the contracting Parties, to the Performance of Something, which It may be They would not do, except in Consideration of the *Treaty* into which They have entered, are not always grounded on the *Law of Nature*, tho' They ought to be consistent with It; nor are They always consistent with the true Interest of the *State*, tho' They are always concluded under that Pretext.

Peace is necessary to every Country in Proportion to the Extent of its Commerce; but Experience shews Us, that Treaties are ineffectual to secure that Blessing, and as soon as *Peace* interferes, either with the Glory of a *Prince*, the particular Views of his *Ministers*, or the private Advantage of the *ruling* Members in a *Republic*, from that Moment it becomes precarious. The Name of the *public Interest* is speciously employ'd to destroy the *public Faith*, and the true Sense of a Treaty is quibbled away, or glossed over, agreeable to the good Pleasure of those that are strongest; so that a *State* ought not to expect *Peace*, any longer than
She

She is in a Condition to make *War* with Advantage.

PHILIP de COMMINES, speaking with his usual Simplicity, of the Treaties and Negotiations that were carried on between his Master LEWIS XI, and the DUKES of NORMANDY and BRITANY, says, there was a continual Succession of *Embassadors* between the *King* and those *Princes*, as well as between his *Majesty* and the DUKE of BURGUNDY; *Not to cultivate or entertain a good Correspondence between Them, but to make Discoveries; carry Intelligence; to bribe, suborn and debauch each others Ministers and Subjects, employing all sorts of Artifice and Treachery, under the specious Pretext of the public Faith, and the honourable Title of an Embassy.* Our King CHARLES II, attacked the *Dutch Smirna Fleet*, 1665, without any previous Declaration of *War*; and in that which LEWIS XIV, published against the Republic of the *United Provinces* in 1672, the only Reason his *Most Christian Majesty* thought fit to assign for It, was *That He was dissatisfied with the Conduct of the STATES GENERAL and could no longer dissemble his Indignation, without a Diminution of his Glory;* wherefore He determined to make *War* upon Them by *Sea and Land.*

It seems unnecessary to cite more Examples to shew the little Dependance that is to be had on the most solemn Engagements between different Nations. To speak Truth, Treaties of *Alliance*, owe their Invention to the Infidelity, of *Princes* and *Regents*; and, generally speaking, are no more than *provisional* Engagements, entered into for the Support of former *Treaties* of *Peace*, or the Punishment of Those that infringe Them. It were to be wished indeed, that *Trading Countries*, could subsist without any Engagements of this Kind, because then They would offend Nobody, and their *Commerce* would be *open* and *general*. I believe, I may say, This is no where better understood than in *Holland*; and yet, such has been the Fate of the *United Provinces*, that between the Ambition of their *Stadt-holders*, the ill Faith of some of their Neighbours, and the Jealousy of others, the *Republic* has never once seen it self in a State of Independancy; but has been obliged to found its Security in *foreign* Alliances, both Defensive and Offensive, tho' Nothing be more repugnant to its real Interests.

|
S E C T.



SECT. I.
OF THE
ALLIANCES
OF THE
STATES GENERAL

With the
EMPEROR.

*Including an Examination of the 5th
and 6th Articles of the Treaty of Munster,
and of the Emperor's Right to set up the
Ostend Company.*



FROM the *Abdication* of the
EMPEROR, CHARLES V, and
the *Partition* of his Domi-
nions, to the Formation of the
first *Grand Alliance*, in 1689;
the *German Branch* of the
Austrian Family, was of little Weight in
C c 2 *Europe*

Europe, except within the Limits of the *Empire*. The EMPEROR was then, with Regard to the *United Provinces*, what possibly the *King of Poland* may be now; too weak to hurt Them, and situated at too great a Distance, to help Them in any Extremity; so that His *Alliance* could only serve to engage the *States* in Enterprizes contrary to their Interest without being of any Utility to Them. But since the Year 1689, or rather, since 1701, that upon the Death of CHARLES II, *King of Spain*, the *Second Grand Alliance* was formed for the Support of his *Imperial Majesty's* Pretentions to the *Spanish Monarchy*, the EMPEROR is become of very great Importance to the *Southern Parts of Europe*, as well as to Those who lye *Northward of the Rhine*.

That which renders his *Imperial Majesty* of immediate Consequence to the *Dutch*, is the Possession of the *Austrian Netherlands*, yielded to Him by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and confirmed by that of the *Barrier*, concluded at *Antwerp*, in 1715.

Whoever will be at the Pains of considering the former State of those *Provinces*, and comparing it with the Provision made for their Government, and Defence, by the last-mentioned Treaty, will find, that, supposing the *Austrian Netherlands* in the Hands
of

of a Friend, They are a more effectual *Barrier* to the *United Provinces* against *France*, than They have been, at any Time since the *Peace* of *Aix-la-Chapelle* concluded in 1668. But if we consider the *Emperor*, as an Enemy to the *States General*, the same Countries, in that Case, will be found less formidable to the *United Provinces*, upon the present Establishment, than They were, when under the Obedience of the *King of Spain*.

The better to comprehend this, we must consider, that the Towns and Citadels of *Namur* and *Tournay*, with *Menin*, *Ipres*, *Furnes*, *Warneton*, and *Fort Knocque*, which form a Chain of Garrisons upon the Frontier of the *Austrian Netherlands* towards *France*, are committed to the Custody of the *States General*, who Garrison Them entirely with their own Troops, and are obliged in Point of Interest, as well as by Treaty, to keep the Fortifications in good Repair, and the Towns well supplied with Ammunition, and all military Stores, necessary for the support of a Siege: So that, in the case of an Attack from the side of *France*, it is not to be doubted, that the *Barrier* of the *Netherlands*, would be well defended, or at least, much better than when it was in the Hands of the
Spaniards,

Spaniards, who for a great Number of Years, have never been able to look the *French* in the Face, or hinder their encroachments upon the *Frontier* of *Flanders*.

But if, on the contrary, we suppose the *EMPEROR* an Enemy to the *States General*, we shall then find the *Netherlands* less formidable to the *United Provinces*, than when they made a Part of the *Spanish* Dominions. For tho' it be much more easy for the *Emperor*, to march an *Army* into *Flanders*, than it was for the *Spaniards* to Transport a Body of Troops thither, after the Reduction of their *Naval Force*; And tho' it be true, that *Holland* is liable to be attacked from the *Province* of *Brabant*; yet, when we remember, that by virtue of the Towns above-mentioned, the *Dutch* have it in their Power, to let the *French* into the very Heart of *Flanders*, from whence they have been so hardly driven by the *United Arms*, of almost all the Powers of *Europe*; It cannot be imagined, that the *Emperor* will reduce the *States General*, to the Necessity of having Recourse to so violent and dangerous a Remedy. And this single Consideration, I speak it with the utmost Deference however, seems to me, more than sufficient to justify the moderate Conduct of *Great Britain* and the

the *United Provinces*, since the late Rupture with the *Emperor*: because, according to all the Rules of Prudence and Policy, his *Imperial Majesty*, must at last acquiesce, and content Himself with possessing the *Netherlands* upon the Footing prescrib'd by the *Barrier Treaty*, rather than run the Hazard of loosing Them entirely, which must inevitably be the Case, if the Allies of *Hanover* once come to act *Offensively*; unless we can suppose the *Emperor* able to send an Army into *Flanders*, strong enough to beat the *United Forces* of *France*, *England*, and *Holland* out of the Field; which I presume, there is no *Imperialist* sanguine enough to imagine.

The Garrison of *Dendermonde*, is made up jointly of *Dutch* and *Imperialists*, but the Governour is nominated by the *Emperor*. (a) It were very much to be wished, however, that not only this Town, but that *Nieuport* and *Ghent*, were also in the Hands of the *States General*, agreeable to the 1st *Barrier Treaty*, of 1709. *Newport*, would render the *Barrier*, or the Chain of Towns, upon the *Frontier* of *Flan-*

(a) See the *Barrier Treaty* of 1715, concluded at *Antwerp*,

ders, more compleat ; and the sole possession of *Dendermonde* and *Ghent*, would secure the Communication between the Barrier Towns and the '*United Provinces*, which is now liable to be interrupted. And besides this, had the *Dutch* been in Possession of *Ghent*, I believe the *Ostend Company's* Charter had never been granted ; because it would then have been in the Power of the *States General*, to break the Communication between *Bruges* and the Rest of *Flanders* and *Brabant*, which would have been an invincible Obstacle to the Commerce of *Ostend*.

His *Imperial Majesty*, has already consented to suspend his *Indian Trade* for seven Years ; and I cannot doubt, but He will at last, revoke his Charter. However, as the *Ostend Company*, is yet one of those Points which employ the Politicks of almost every Court of *Europe*, I flatter my self, the Reader will pardon me at least, if I attempt to set the Question in the truest Light I can, by describing the State of *Spain*, and the *United Provinces*, before the Treaty of *Munster*, and by adding all that I have been able to gather from very intelligent Persons, both *Dutch* and *Imperialists*, in support of their different Pretentions ; with my Reflections upon
on

on the Consequences that must naturally rise from the Prosperity of the *Ostend Company*, and the Revolutions that may be expected, both in Commerce and otherwise, should it be suffered to subsist.

The learned Monsieur *Barbeyrac*, (*) observes upon this Subject, that It was not to be wondered, common Men, little acquainted with the History of past Ages, and still less, with the particular Maxims of Government; very easy on the other Hand, about the Infraction of *Treaties*, provided they find their Account in it, should abet a Project, which could not be executed, without giving a stab to public Faith; because, Men of this Make are the Growth of every Climate, and of every Age. But that such a Project could be entertained by the *Imperial Council*, and patronised by the Emperor, was what Monsieur *Barbeyrac* could not so well account for. (a)

That His *Imperial Majesty*, under the Weight of so many high Obligations, to *England* and *Holland*, should in open, and manifest

* Professor of the Civil Law at *Groninghen*, and Member of the Royal Accademy of Sciences at *Berlin*.

(a) *Defense du Droit de la Compagnie Hollandoise des Indes orientales, &c. A la Haye, 1725.*

Violation of so many *Treaties* entered into by his *Ancestors*, and confirmed by *Himself*, strike directly at the most important Interests of both the *Nations*; that instead of acknowledging the Services that have been done Him, at the expence of so much *Blood* and *Treasure*, and repaying Them with acts of Friendship, he should endeavour to tear out their Bowels; is, it must be owned, extreamly supprizing, and a very great Reflection upon the *Emperor's* Gratitude and Equity. Whether this be the Case, or not, shall be the Subject of the following Enquiry; which I the rather undertake, as I every where find many well meaning Persons, who can very hardly persuade Themselves, that the Conduct of the Court of *Vienna*, upon this Occasion, is not grounded upon Right; because the *Exclusion* of a whole People, say They, from any particular Branch of *Commerce*, seems to have something in it contrary to the *Law of Nature*; upon which, all *Conventions* and *Treaties*, ought to be grounded.

In order to take a full and dispassionate View of the *Emperor's* Right to grant the *Ostend* Charter, we must go back, and examine the State and Circumstances of *Spain* and the *United Provinces*, before the Peace of *Munster*, and the several Interests that
might

might engage either *Power*, to conclude that *Treaty*.

The People of the *United Provinces*, had supported Themselves in their Revolt from the Crown of *Spain*, with wonderful Success: When in 1609, a *Truce* was concluded between Them for twelve Years, under the Mediation of *France*, and *Philip III*, King of *Spain*, then acknowledged the *States General* as Sovereigns of a free and independant People. By the fourth Article of this *Treaty*, the King of *Spain* consents, that the People of the *United Netherlands* should remain in the peaceable Possession of the Places They then held in the *Indies*, and the Exercise of their *Navigation*. He prohibits only the *Dutch Commerce* to such Places in *India*, as were then possessed by the *Spaniards*, without special Passports, but leaves Them an entire liberty to drive on their Trade with his *European Subjects*, and with all other Powers out of *Europe*, that were willing to deal with Them. (a)

(a) See the 4th Article of the Treaty at large: History of the Low Countries, by *Emanuel van Meteren*, French Edit. Lib. 30. Fol. 658. Also the Negotiations of President *Jeannin*.

It may not be improper to remark, that the ten *Provinces* of the *Netherlands*, which remained in Subjection to *SPAIN*, were at this very time *excluded* from trading to the *Indies*, where They never had carried on the least *Commerce*, both by the *Laws* of their own *Sovereigns*, (b) and the *Decree* of the *POPE*, (c) which as *zealous Roman Catholics*, They were obliged to observe. *PHILIP II*, upon the Marriage of his Daughter, the *Infanta*, *ISSABELLA CLARA EUGENIA*, with the *ARCH-DUKE ALBERT* of *AUSTRIA*, gave Her by way of *Dowry*, these *ten obedient Provinces*, as They are stiled; but it is *expressly stipulated* in an Article of the *Donation*, that the *Sovereignty* of the said *Provinces* is conferred, (d) under this Condition, and not otherwise, that *neither the Infanta, her Husband, nor their Successors, on whom the said Provinces might devolve, should in any wise negotiate, traffick, or contract in the East or West-Indies; nor should They send any Ships thither, under any Title or Pre-*

(b) See Monsieur *Westerveen's* Dissertation, *Dutch*, Sect. IV.

(c) See *Mariana de Rebus Hisp.* Lib. 26, chap. 3. and *Selden, Mare clausum*, Lib. 1. chap. 22. page 161.

(d) See the History of *Emanuel van Meteren*, french Translation.

tence whatsoever, upon Penalty, in case of Contravention, that the Sovereignty of the said Countries should be forfeited. And if any of the Subjects, of the said Provinces, should presume to trade to the *Indies*, contrary to the *Meaning*, and *Intention* of these Prohibitions, their *Sovereigns* should punish them with the *Confiscation* of their Goods, and even with *Death*.

The new *Republic* had just began to taste the happy effects of *Peace*, and *Liberty*; when upon the Expiration of the twelve Years *Truce*, both Sides prepared to renew their Hostilities with fresh Vigour, and double Animosity. My Subject does not permit Me, to relate the *Events* of the *War*, which lasted for twenty seven Years, till it was put an end to by the famous Treaty of MUNSTER, concluded in 1648, an Epocha of the greatest Importance to the *United Provinces*.

For some Years past, the Point of greatest Consideration with the STATES GENERAL, had been, how They might best maintain that *Liberty* They had acquired. Some thought an Accommodation with SPAIN the best means to secure This, and Others preferred *War* to an uncertain *Peace*. The Province of *Holland* was for an Accommodation, because she bore more than Half the

the *Burthen* of the War, and was one Hundred and forty Millions in Debt. (a) To this, we may add, that the DUTCH then began to suspect their Allies the FRENCH, whose *Frontiers* advanced nearer to those of the *United Provinces*, in Proportion, as their Conquests encreased in *Flanders*. And besides this, FREDERIC HENRY, PRINCE of ORANGE, *Stadtholder* and *Captain-General*, of the *United Provinces*, was now grown Old and Infirm, and seemed to Patronize those who were for putting an end to the War.

If Peace was now become convenient for the *Dutch*, it was at the same time absolutely necessary for the *Spaniards*, who were reduced to a very deplorable Condition. They were at open War with FRANCE, and the Campaign was begun with the defeat of their Army at *Avein*, under PRINCE THOMAS, of *Savoy*. (b) The *Spanish Infantry*, so famous for a long train of glorious Actions, had been destroy'd at the Battle of ROCROY, by the DUKE of ANGUIEN, afterwards PRINCE of CONDE, and the Rapidity

(a) See *Annales des Provinces unies*, par Monsieur *Basnage*. Lib. i. Fol. 14.

(b) See *Basnage*, ut supra. Fol. 16.

of his Conquests in *Flanders*, gave the *French* hopes of taking the rest of the *Netherlands*, in a single Campaign. *Catalonia* had revolted and put herself under the *french* Protection. *Roussillon* was reduced by the Conquest of *Perpignan* and *Roses*. The *PORTUGUEZE* had shook off the *Castilian Yoke*, and crowned the *DUKE of BRAGANZA* their KING, who, supported by *France* and *England*, maintained his Pretensions with Success. The Insurrection at *NAPLES* was still a Subject of the greatest Uneasiness to *Spain*, heightened by the *DUKE of GUISE's* having thrown Himself into the Place, from whom They might reasonably expect all the Opposition, that the most ardent Courage, big with the Desire of Glory could inspire. In these Circumstances, vanquished by so great a Number of Misfortunes, and oppressed with so many different Enemies, who seemed all to have conspired to effect the same Design; destitute on the other Hand, of sufficient Armies for the Defence of such Provinces as were attacked, or the Recovery of Those that were revolted, *PHILIP IV.* resolved to make a Peace, either general, or separate, and sent the Count of *Pignaranda*, with Orders to this Purpose, as his Plenipotentiary, to *Munster*.

Such

Such were the Circumstances of *SPAIN* and the *UNITED PROVINCES*, and such the Disposition of their respective *Sovereigns*, when the Conferences were first opened. I omit to enlarge upon the Interests of the other Powers concerned in this Treaty, as foreign to my Subject. *FRANCE*, *SWEDEN*, and the *UNITED PROVINCES* were closely allied. Differences in *RELIGION* had kindled a bloody War in *GERMANY*, where the *Protestants* backed with the *victorious Arms* of *Sweden*, were every where successful against the *Emperor*, *FERDINAND III*, *unable* from thence to assist *Spain*, who was thus left to struggle singly, with all the Difficulties before enumerated. The *COURT* of *MADRID* left nothing unattempted to draw off the *French* from their Alliance with the *United Provinces*, by engaging Them in a separate *Peace*; and when this was found in Vain, the same Arts were practised upon the *Dutch*, with better Success. The *Interest* of the *Republic*, seemed to be confined to these few Particulars; that *Spain* should absolutely renounce all *Right* and *Title* to the *Sovereignty* of the *United Provinces*, and own Them for a *free* and *independant People*. *Secondly*, That their *Country* should be covered with a *good Barrier*. And *Thirdly*, That their *Commerce* should be secured to Them in the most advantageous Manner

Manner. The First, of these was merely Matter of Form, and easily adjusted, for *Philip III*, in the Truce of 1609, had already treated Them as a *free People*, so that this was only renewing the same Thing with greater Solemnity. The Second, was a Point of more Difficulty. The *Spaniards* had been taught, for a long Series of Years, to consider Themselves as the *first and most powerful Nation* of the *Universe*: fortified in this Opinion, by the great and frequent *Victories* of *CHARLES V*, and *enclined naturally to improve, and heighten* the favourite *Ideas* They had entertained of their *own Grandeur and Superiority*, It was not easy to make Them see their Weakness, and bring Them to Concessions, in Favour of Those whom They had always treated as *rebellious Subjects*. The Third, was still an Article of harder Digestion. Not only *Policy*, but even *common Decency* would scarce allow *PHILIP III*, Lord of *both the Indies*, to confirm the Priviledges granted by the *States General* to the *East-India Company* of *Holland*, and much less to exclude his own *Subjects* from trading within so large a *District*, as was then in the *Dependence* of that *Company*. But the *Dagger* was at his *Throat*, and the *Necessity* was evident, either of making a *separate Peace* with the *Dutch*, or falling a *Sacrifice* to the *United Arms* of *France*,

and the *Republic*. The first was most eligible in point of Prudence, tho' least conformable to the *vain* Notions of *Honour*, and *false Ideas* of *Greatness*, that then possessed the *Court* of *Madrid*; and accordingly, after a train of Negotiations, which had been carried on in different Places for near *eight* Years together, a *separate Peace* was at last concluded in 1648, between *Spain* and the *United Provinces*, at *Munster*.

By this Treaty, the King of SPAIN acknowledges the STATES GENERAL, of the *United Provinces*, with the *Countries* and *Towns* on Them depending, to be *free* and *sovereign*; over whom, the said KING renounces all Pretentions for *Himself*, and his *Heirs*, for *ever*: And thus the *Sovereignty* of the *United Provinces*, was established by the only *Power* that had any Pretension to contest it. By the third Article, the *Barrier* of the *United Provinces*, was secured against *Spain*, by stipulating, that each Party should remain in Possession of all the Places They then held; and particularly, *Bois le duc*, and its Territory, with the Towns of *Mastricht*, *Breda*, *Hulst*, and some others were assigned to the *States*.

The *fifth* Article comes home to our present Subject, by *confirming* the *Charters* of the

the *East* and *West-India Companies* of *Holland*, and establishing reciprocally the Right of Possession, to either Party, of the Places They then held in the *East* and *West-Indies*, comprehending likewise, all those that the *Portuguese* had taken from the *Dutch* since the Year 1641, which the *King* of *Spain* renounces his Pretensions to, in favour of the *States General*, as also all Lands and Places, which They should conquer, or acquire the Possession of hereafter, without Infraction of the present Treaty.

The *sixth* Article goes yet much further, with respect to the *East-Indies*, and it is very expressly stipulated, That the *Spaniards* shall continue their Navigation in the *East-Indies*, in the manner They had hitherto exercised it, without being permitted to extend it beyond their usual Limits. And the Inhabitants of the *United Provinces*, are prohibited to trade to such Places as were then possessed by the *Castillians*. (a)

As to the *West-Indies*, it was further agreed, in the *seventh* Article, to abstain reciprocally from prejudicing each other's Commerce.

(a) Vide, *Traites de Paix*, en 1648. Tom 3. page 165.

I come now to the State of the Question, between his *Imperial Majesty* and their *High Mightynesses* the *States General*, in behalf of their Subjects, concerning the Right of Commerce, that each Party pretends in both the *Indies*.

The *Dutch India Companies* affirm, that by Virtue of their Charters and Priviledges, confirmed by solemn Treaties, and particularly that of *Munster*, They have an irrevocable Right to trade within certain districts in the *Indies*, *exclusively of the Inhabitants of the Austrian Netherlands*, in which Districts, They have constantly exercised that Right, without having been interrupted in it till very lately, by the *Imperialists*, who on the other Hand, deny that any such *Exclusion* is intended by the Treaty of *Munster*; or if it were; that his present *Imperial Majesty* is in any Degree bound by that Treaty, or obliged, in equity, to observe it.

The Words of the Clause in the *sixth* Article, of the Treaty of *Munster*, run thus. ‘ And it hath been further conditioned, and stipulated, *That the SPANIARDS shall retain their Navigation, in such manner, as they hold it at present in the East-Indies, without being permitted to extend it further: As also, the Inhabitants*

of

‘ of the United Provinces, shall abstain from
 ‘ frequenting such Places as are in the Posses-
 ‘ sion of the Castilians.

I think it is incontestable, that these Words convey the Idea of certain Limits, within which, the *King of Spain* ought to confine his Navigation, and Commerce; and the *Dutch Civilians* observe that, there is a very essential Difference in this reciprocal Stipulation; for the *Dutch* engage Themselves only, *not to trade to the Places held by the Spaniards*; whereas, the *King of Spain*, is not only obliged to restrain the Navigation of his Subjects within their *Old Limits*, and prohibit Them the *Dutch District*, but *They* are likewise excluded all other Places in the *Indies*, which *They* had not as yet frequented: and since this Exclusion was condescended to in Favour of the *Dutch*, It is a very natural Consequence, that *They* must gain what the *Spaniards* lose; so that a vast *Field* is left open to Them; *They* may extend their Commerce on all Sides; conquer upon the *Portuguese*; and settle in any Part of the *Indies* not occupied by the *Spaniards*, all which *They* are to possess with an entire *Exclusion* of all the Subjects of *Spain*. If it be objected that the *Limits* within which the *King of Spain* should confine his Navigation, are not expressed; the

Answer is, that They were perfectly and vulgarly known at the Time of making this Treaty. The *Philippine Islands*, had hitherto been the *non plus ultra* of the *Spaniards*, reckoning from the *Streights of Magellan*, which was the only Course their Ships had kept, or could keep, by Virtue of the *arbitrial Sentence* of POPE ALEXANDER VI; so that the Rest of the *Indies*, from the *Phillippine Islands* to the *Cape of Good Hope*, was left open to the *Hollander*. And this, indeed, agrees very exactly with the 34th Article of the Privileges granted by the *States General* to their *East-India Company*, where it is expressly ordered, ‘ That no Person, of what
‘ Condition or Quality soever, shall presume to Navigate in the *East-Indies*, on
‘ the other Side the *Cape of Good Hope*,
‘ or, by the *Streights of Magellan*, upon
‘ on Penalty of forfeiting the Ship and
‘ Cargo.

’Tis now proper to see what the *Imperialists* offer in Support of their *Pretentions*, and how They affect to understand those Articles of the Treaty of *Munster*, that We have now explained.

The First, and indeed, their principal Objection, relates to the last Clause of the 5th Article. The Question is, who are included in the Stipulation of that Clause;
and

and what we are to understand, by the Engagement entred into, by Those whom It shall be found to concern, *to retain their Navigation in the same Manner, that They possess It at Present in the East-Indies, without extending It farther.*

Monsieur Nany, and other zealous Advocates of the *Ostend Company*, press the Letter of the Treaty, and affirm, that as the *Castilians*, or *Spaniards* alone are named, so the Stipulation regards Them only, but does not in the least bind the *other Subjects of Spain*.

But, in Answer to this, the *Imperialists* may be asked, if It be at all uncommon, for all the Subjects of any *Prince, who has several distinct States*, to be designed by the Name of Those that *inhabit the most considerable Part of his Dominions*. Any one that will give Himself the Trouble of turning over Treaties, may find many Examples of This, and indeed, there is Nothing more common in ordinary Language. In all the Treaties, made between *England* and other *States*, if every Time the Word *English* is used, It were to be pretended that the Subjects of *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, are not to be understood, or comprehended; this would certainly tend to reverse the Sense and Purport of the clearest Engagements, and open a Door to a thousand Chicanes.

But it will be very easy to demonstrate, from the Nature of the Affair in Question, that the Intention of both the contracting Powers, was to extend what is stipulated concerning the *Spaniards*, or *Castilians*, namely, to all the Subjects of *Philip IV*, indifferently.

It was beyond all Contradiction the Design of the *United Provinces*, to secure to Themselves for the Time to come, a *distinct* and *separate* Right of Commerce, within the Districts of their *India Companies*. The very Difficulties, and Disputes They had met with on this Head, in their Negotiations with *Spain*, for a long Time before the Treaty of *Munster* could be concluded, are a Proof of This. For, if the Question had related barely, to the *quiet Possession* of such Places as the *Dutch* then held in the *Indies*, and the *Liberty of trafficking* with other Nations, and Powers who might be willing to deal with Them, there is not the least Ground to imagine, that *Philip IV*, who passionately desired Peace, and considering the Condition of his Affairs, had abundance of Reason to desire It, would have made so great a Difficulty, of consenting to those Articles that related to the *Indian Commerce*, since This, as I observed just now, had been already granted to Them

Them by his Predecessor *Philip III*, by the Treaty of the *Truce* in 1609. The *Dutch* observe farther on this Head, that the *King of Spain's* Concession, is *relative* to the Charters of their *India Companies*, which He confirms in all their Extent. 'The Navigation and Commerce, of the *East*, and *West-India Companies*, shall be maintained according, and in Conformity to the Charters, on that Head already given, or that may be given hereafter.' These Charters do not barely confine the two Companies to the Districts They then possessed, with the Liberty of trading with other Nations, but They exclude from those Districts, determined by certain Bounds, all the Subjects of the *united Provinces*; and *Philip IV*, in confirming these Charters, ought surely to be construed to have confirmed Them for all his Subjects.

But in Reality, the *King of Spain's* own Interest demanded, that this Confirmation should bind all his Subjects of every Denomination. For, after having consented, tho' with Pain, to confine the Commerce of his best beloved Subjects the *Castilians*, within certain Limits in the *Indies*, It cannot be imagined that He would make their Condition still more disadvantageous, by giving his Subjects of the *Low Countries*,
leave

leave to trade to *India*, either within his own District, or That of the *Dutch*, which must visibly diminish the Profit made by the *Spaniards* or *Castilians*, in whose Favour, both He and his Ancestors had hitherto carefully excluded all their other Subjects from that Commerce, and particularly *Those of the Low Countries*.

There was, indeed, no Necessity, either from the Interest of the *King of Spain*, or the *States General*, to insert the Name of any other People, than That of the CASTILIANS, or *Spaniards*, in those Articles of the Treaty of *Munster* that relate to Commerce; because the *Exclusion* of the People of the *Austrian Netherlands*, held valid by all Parties for so long a Time, subsisted still in its full Force; and as it was not expressly revoked or moderated in any Degree, must from thence be construed to be confirmed.

The *Roman Civilians*, and *Grotius*, all agree, that where disputes arise concerning Compacts, the Intention of the contracting Parties, must be examined into. (a) And

(a) Semper in stipulationibus, & in cæteris contractibus, id sequimur, quod actum est, &c. Lib. 34. D. de Reg. Jur.

if it be possible to discover this, the same regard must be paid to it, as if it had been actually expressed. (b) I think it is evident from what has been said, that the *Intention* of *Spain*, and the *United Provinces*, was, that the *Prohibition*, under which, the People of the *Austrian Netherlands* lay, to trade to the *Indies*, should remain in Force: That the *Castilians*, or *Spaniards*, only should be allowed to trade to *India*, within their old *District*; and that all other Subjects of *Philip IV*, of every Denomination, should remain as They were before, utterly excluded from the Commerce in Question.

But the *Imperial Advocates*, do not only attempt to prove, that the *Treaty* of *Munster*, as far as it relates to Commerce, does not regard the Subjects of the *Austrian Netherlands*: They would willingly understand the Rest of the *Treaty* in a manner, that I conceive the Words, and natural Sense of it, cannot possibly admit.

‘ All the Demands, says *Monsieur Nany*,
(a) ‘ Of the two *India Companies* of Hol-

(b) Nam in contrahendo, quod agitur, pro Cauto habendum est, Lib. 3. D. de. Reb. Cred.

(a) See la Refutation de Monsieur Nany Sect. 2. Pag. 19

' land, at the *Congress of Munster*, went no
 ' further, than to obtain of the KING of
 ' SPAIN, by way of *Sufferance*, the Permis-
 ' sion, and Liberty to navigate and traf-
 ' fick, according to the Tenour of their
 ' Charters. It is surprizing then, adds He,
 ' and shocking to the last degree, to pre-
 ' tend at this time of Day, that the Per-
 ' mission given Them to this purpose,
 ' by his *Catholick Majesty*, may be ex-
 ' tended to the *Exclusion* of those who
 ' were his proper Subjects, in Countries,
 ' where the *States General* did not think
 ' their own Commerce secure, unless the
 ' said *Prince* authorized it, by his Con-
 ' firmation of the above mentioned Char-
 ' ters; which ought to be confirmed by
 ' Him, because they had been granted du-
 ' ring the *War*, and at a time, when the
 ' King of Spain did not acknowledge the
 ' *States General* as free and sovereign, but
 ' considered Them as his Subjects.

It is not easie for the most disinterested
 Person to read this Paragraph of *Monsieur*
Nany's, with common Temper. Sure at the
Treaty of Munster, the *States General* stood
 in no need of a *Tolleration*, for their Na-
 vigation and Commerce in the *Indies*, flow-
 ing from the *King of Spain's Goodness*, and
 Condescension. The Face of Affairs was
 very

very much altered since the Truce of 1609, and yet even then, They obtained something more in Point of Commerce, than a precarious Liberty dependant on the *good Pleasure of the Court of Madrid*. The *Sovereignty* of the *States General* was no longer, in the main, a contestable Point, any more than their *Right to trade to the Indies*. They had strengthened Themselves so well, both in one and the other, that *Philip IV*, could not flatter himself, with any probability, of Success in his attempts to deprive Them of either. And indeed, it is evident, from the whole Course of the *Negotiations*, and the Conduct of his *Plenipotentiaries* at *Munster*, that the Views of that *Prince* were confined to the *Preservation* of his own Commerce in *India*, and to hinder the *Dutch* from *Invading* it. Agreeable to this, we find the *Embassadors* of *Spain*, complaining, that the *Dutch* pretended to *tye down their Master*, from carrying his Arms into *Brazil*, to reduce the *Portugueze*, his rebellious Subjects; and from extending his Navigation and Commerce in *India*, to Places out of the *Dutch District*, that were absolutely free and independant. This I apprehend, is something more than a Confirmation of their Charters, and a bare Liberty

Liberty of Traffick, or a Tolleration, as Monsieur Nany expresses it.

Another Argument, equally artificial and frivolous, made use of to evade the force of the Treaty of *Munster*, is this. *Philip IV*, say They, *contracted merely as King of Spain, and Lord of the Indies; but not as Duke of Brabant, Count of Flanders, or Sovereign of the other Provinces of the Low Countries.*

It will not be contested, that a *Prince*, who has several *distinct* States, may make a Treaty, which shall regard one of them, and not the other; but the Question is, whether the *King of Spain* treated in that manner, or not. Every Body will allow, that the *Ratification* of the *Sovereign*, is that alone, which gives Force and Sanction, to a Treaty; and in that, which *PHILIP IV*, gave to the Treaty of *Munster*, all his Titles are inserted; *King of Spain; Duke of Burgundy and Brabant; Count of Flanders, &c.* Nor is there any Example to be cited in the whole Treaty it self, that He stipulates, or promises any thing, sometimes under one Title, and sometimes another.

Those who invented this Distinction, may be apt to say indeed, that this is no more than the common stile used in the Preamble of all Treaties; and that no Consequence will arise from It. But there is

a very particular Clause in the Ratification, which leaves no Room to chicanery. ‘ PHILIP
 ‘ IV, declares solemnly, that he approves and
 ‘ ratifies the Treaty, for Himself, his Heirs,
 ‘ and Successors; as also for his Vassals, Sub-
 ‘ jects, and Inhabitants of his Kingdoms, States
 ‘ and Lordships, as well in Europe, as out
 ‘ of Europe, and this, without any Exception,
 ‘ in all its Parts, and Contents, and in each
 ‘ Point, and Article separately, &c. He o-
 ‘ bliges to this Purpose, all and every his
 ‘ Kingdoms, Countries, and States, as also,
 ‘ all his other Demesnes present, and to come;
 ‘ his Heirs, Successors, and Descendants; so
 that, it would hardly be possible to ex-
 press in stronger Terms, any Engagement
 entered into by a Prince, in behalf of all
 his Dominions, consisting of various Pro-
 vinces, by whatsoever Title He may possess
 them. In my Apprehension, therefore, Phi-
 lip IV, has shut the Door to all imagina-
 ble Exceptions. He obliges all his Heirs
 and Successors, who shall come after Him,
 in the Low Countries, as well as in Spain:
 He obliges all his Vassals, Subjects, and In-
 habitants, of all the Countries of his Do-
 mination in Europe, and out of Europe,
 without any Distinction: He restrains both
 his Heirs and his Subjects, whosoever they
 may be, to the observation of all the Ar-
 ticles

ticles of the Treaty of Munster, in General, and each of them in particular; and as those Articles in question, are the most considerable, it is not to be doubted, that if they were only to bind a part of his Subjects, Care would have been taken to have inserted the Exception.

And thus I think it is evident, that the *true Sense* of the *Treaty of Munster*, and the *Intention* of the contracting *Parties*, was to *confine* the Navigation and Commerce of the *Spaniards* or *Castilians* to their old Limits; excluding Them entirely from the Districts of the *Hollanders*, and *all such Places as the Dutch should conquer afterwards, or extend their Commerce to, without Infraction of that Treaty.* And *Secondly*, That this Exclusion, must bind all the Subjects of his *Catholick Majesty* equally; because, as *Philip IV*, made *War* upon the *Republic* of the *United Provinces* both as *King of Spain*, and *Sovereign* of the *Low Countries*, So he must be considered as the same Person at *Munster*, ratifying the Peace made there, in *Quality* of *King of Spain*, *Duke of Brabant*, *Count of Flanders*, &c. And consequently that the Articles of the Treaty, are *equally binding* to the Inhabitants of all these Countries, under the *common Relation* of Subjects, *to one and the same Prince.*

After

After having ascertained the Sense and Extent of the 5th and 6th Articles of the Treaty of *Munster*, I come now to examine the other grand Assertion of the *Imperialists*, that supposing the true Sense and Intention of the *Munster Treaty* to be as we explain It, yet the *present Emperor* is not bound by It.

‘ His Imperial Majesty, say They, does not possess the *Austrian Netherlands*, as Successor to CHARLES II, late KING of SPAIN, but as One of the Successors of the House of *Burgundy*, in the same manner, as his august Ancestors possessed Them before the Accession of PHILIP LE BEL to the Crown of Spain.

Here follows what *Monsieur Nany* has advanced to this Purpose, translated *Verbatim*.

‘ Few Persons are ignorant, (a) that the *Netherlands* did never belong to the most august House of *Austria*, as a Dependence of the Crown of Spain, but as Successors of the House of *Burgundy*, whose Dominions They inherited, before They were at the Head of the *Spanish Monarchy*, and it was under this Title, that

(a) Refutation de Monsieur Nany. Sect. 3. Pag. 7. 8.

‘ his *most Christian Majesty*, delivered up to
‘ the *States General*, for, and in Favour
‘ of that most august House, All which,
‘ that Prince, and his Allies, were possessed
‘ of, in those Countries, commonly called
‘ the *Spanish*, or *Austrian Netherlands*, in
‘ the Month of *April*, 1713, as likewise
‘ the Towns of *Ipres* and *Furnes*, with all
‘ their Dependances ; and it was likewise
‘ in Favour of the *same Title*, that *Mes-*
‘ *sieurs* the *States*, delivered up to his *Im-*
‘ *perial Majesty*, all the Places, Towns, and
‘ Countries, which They had the Admi-
‘ nistration of in his Name, as may be
‘ seen, by the 19th, 20th, and 21st Ar-
‘ ticles of the Treaties of *Radstat* and *Baden*,
‘ and by the two first Articles of the
‘ *Barrier Treaty*, of 1715.

‘ The Stipulations made and provided,
‘ by the several Articles of these Treaties,
‘ evidence in the strongest Manner, that
‘ the *Austrian Netherlands*, are for ever
‘ united to the Dominions of the most au-
‘ gust House of *Austria*, and that the *So-*
‘ *vereignty* and *Property* of Them, are vest-
‘ ed in his *Imperial Majesty*, no otherwise
‘ than as *Sovereign* and *Proprietor* of the
‘ said *Netherlands*, and as *Chief* of the
‘ said House, and consequently, in the same
‘ Manner, as his august *Ancestors* possessed
them

‘ them before the Accession of *Philip le Bel*, to the *Crown of Spain*.

From whence, *Monsieur Nany* (a) concludes, That the *Dutch* mistake Themselves, and reason after a very odd manner, ‘ when they say, and repeat continually, that as ‘ the *Emperor* is *Heir* and *Successor* of the ‘ late *Catholick King*, He is consequently ‘ engaged to execute the *Treaty of Munster*, ‘ in all its Extent, and oblige his Subjects ‘ to observe it.

Another *Advocate* (b) of the *Ostend Company*, who is anonymous, expresses Himself thus. ‘ The *Emperor* possesses those Pro- ‘ vinces, in Quality of chief and sole *Heir* ‘ of the *House of Burgundy*. And from this incontestable Principle, as He thinks fit to call It, He draws a Consequence very proper for the Cause He undertakes to defend, ‘ That a *King of Spain*, not hav- ‘ ing it in his Power, by any Treaty or ‘ Agreement, to prejudice a Prince who ‘ is in his own Right *Heir* to the *House of Burgundy*; Neither the *Treaty of Munster*, nor any Other entered into by ‘ *Spain*, can in any Degree, bind his Im- ‘ perial and *Catholick Majesty*, any further,

(a) Pag. 9.

(b) See Lettre a un Ami en Hollande. a Bruxelles.

than He may have ratified Them Himself.

If these Gentlemen only pretend, that with Respect to the Treaty of Munster the present Emperor cannot be considered as Heir to the Monarchy of Spain, except in Quality of Successor to the Dominions of the House of Burgundy, amongst which are the Netherlands, This is no new Distinction, but the same that was just now refuted, by which They endeavour to distinguish, between the King of Spain and the Sovereign of the Low Countries; for it is in Quality of Heir to the House of Burgundy, that CHARLES II, succeeded to the Netherlands. But when They ascribe to the present Emperor, a distinct Right, by Virtue of which, He stands exempted from the Observation of any Treaties made by the Kings of Spain, his Predecessors in the Low Countries; and go back as far as MAXIMILIAN I, pretending, that his Imperial Majesty ought to possess the Low Countries, in the same manner, that his august Ancestors did, before the Accession of Philip le Bel to the Crown of Spain; This, if it has any Signification, must mean thus much; that his Imperial Majesty, is immediate Heir to Maximilian I, and not to Charles II, or his Ancestors.

But

But this will be easily refuted, from the best Authorities in History, and the most incontestable Principles of the Law of Nations.

The *Emperor Maximilian I*, having married MARY, the *Heiress of Burgundy*, only Daughter to the last *Duke Charles the hardy*, that *Princess* brought Him, by way of Dowry, the seventeen *Provinces of the Netherlands*, and all the other Dominions of the *House of Burgundy*. From hence, it is evident, that *Maximilian* did not possess these *Provinces in his own Right*, which can only be said, of his Son *Philip le Bel*, King of *Spain*, on whom they devolved by *maternal Succession*. And in Conformity to this, we see, that after the Death of *Mary of Burgundy*, *Maximilian* governed the *Low Countries*, only as *Guardian to his Son*.

That *Prince*, then *King of the Romans*, (a) got Himself declared *Guardian* of his Children by the *States of Brabant*; an Example that the *States of Flanders* refused to follow, for as much as depended on Them; and some Years afterwards, in 1488, They chose new *Magistrates at Bruges*, in

(a) Pontus Heuter : Rer Austriac, Lib. 2. Chap. 1.

the Name of *Philip*; when *Maximilian* was declared *incapable of the Guardianship of his Son, and his Dominions*; (a) and being afterwards released from his Imprisonment, He swore solemnly, (b) that he acquitted the *States of Brabant* of the Oath they had taken to Him, as *Father and Guardian* of his Son; Five Years after which, *Philip* took the Government upon Himself, (c) and was Installed by all the *States of the Low Countries*, in the Presence of his Father, then *Emperor*.

So that, if his present *Imperial Majesty* has no Title to the *Sovereignty* of the *Low Countries*, but what he draws from *Maximilian I*, it will follow by an undeniable Consequence, that He has no Right or Title to It at all: Since That of *Maximilian*, was only a *Temporary Right*, which He exercised for some time in the Name of his Son *Philip le Bel*, afterwards *King of Spain*. And thus, the zealous *Advocates* of *Ostend*, by founding Their Master's Right to the *Sovereignty* of the *Netherlands*, in that of *Maximilian I*, do no more in Reality, than

(a) *Pontus Heuter, Rer. Austriac. Lib. 3. Chap. 3d.*

(b) *Idem, Ibid, Cap. x.*

(c) *Idem, Lib. 5th, Chap. xi.*

rob Him of a good Title, to give Him a bad one.

All Distinctions apart, the short Question is, If the *present Emperor* be *Heir* to the last *King of Spain*, *Charles II*, or not. He has lately acquired the *Sovereignty* of the *Low Countries*, which *did not belong to Him before, but to CHARLES II*, who was indisputably *Chief*, and *Heir* of the *House of Burgundy*; and one would be apt to esteem it a reasonable Conclusion, that his *Imperial Majesty* cannot now become such, except in *Quality* of his *Successor*.

CHARLES V, Son of PHILIP LE BEL, was he alone, of all the *House of Austria*, who ever possessed the *Dominions* of his *Family* in *Germany*, and those of the *House of Burgundy* together. This very Prince was the Person too, that dismembred Them, and united the *Low Countries* for ever, to the *Crown of Spain*; assigning at the same time, the *Empire*, and his *Hereditary Dominions* in *Germany*, to his Brother FERDINAND I, and from this time, the *German Branch* of the *Family*, was *divested of all its Pretentions to the Netherlands*. 'Tis true, that these *Pretentions* were *recoverable*; but only so, as an *Heirship*, that might possibly one Day devolve on the *Family*, by de-

fault of Issue in the Branch of Spain, which, on the other Hand, might have perpetuated itself to the End of the World, and the *Posterity of the German Branch* in that case must have stood for ever excluded.

To corroborate what has been said, we may appeal to the most solemn and authentic Acts of the *three last Emperors*; Testimonies that will surely find Credit with all the World, preferably to the bold Assertions, and subtle Distinctions, of the *Ostend Advocates*.

By the Declaration of War, published against the *Kings of France, and Spain, Lewis XIV. and Philip V*; by the Treaty of the *Grand Alliance*, and by all the *public Pieces* that have been published in the Name and in Favour of their *Imperial Majesties*, It appears, that they have always avowed Themselves *the sole Heirs of Charles II, last King of Spain, and all his Dominions*.

The beginning of the Treaty of the *Grand Alliance*, runs thus:: ‘ And forasmuch
‘ as the late *King of Spain, Charles the Second, of Glorious Memory*, having left
‘ no Issue, his *sacred Imperial Majesty* has
‘ affirmed, that the *Succession of the Kingdoms and Provinces, of the deceased King,*
‘ appertains lawfully to his *august House, &c.*
And the other public Pieces all speak the same Language. Since

Since then, the present *Emperor* is *Heir* and *Successor*, if not in the Whole, yet in Part, to the last *King* of *Spain*, considered as *Duke of Burgundy*, &c. And that it is from the *same Title*, that He derives his *Right* of *Sovereignty* to the *Low Countries*, It will necessarily follow, that He must possess them upon the same Footing, as *Charles II*, did, with all the *Stipulations*, and *Conditions* tied to that *Part of the Succession*, which He inherits.

This is a Consequence drawn from the most incontestable, and universally received Maxims, of the Law of Nations, as well as of the Civil Law. But let us suppose for a moment, that any other plausible Title could be alledged, than *That of Succession* to *Charles II*, yet even This will prove Nothing, because his *Imperial Majesty*, when he received the *Sovereignty* of the *Low Countries*, did by the very Treaty which secured that Succession to Him, give up some of those Rights, which, had He been possessed of another Title, He might have pretended to.

The 1st Article of the *Barrier Treaty* provides expressly, that his *Imperial Majesty* and his *Successors*, shall hold the *Provinces* and *Towns* of the *Low Countries*, in the same Manner, as the late *King Charles II*, of glorious Memory

Memory, *did or ought to have enjoyed Them.* And his *Imperial Majesty* is again particularly engaged by the *26th Article*, to provide and take Care, *That Commerce, and all that depends on It. shall remain, in all and every of its Branches, upon the established Footing; and in the Manner provided by those Articles of the Treaty of Munster, concluded the thirtieth of January 1648, between his Majesty, King Philip IV, of glorious Memory, and the Lords the States General, that relate to Commerce, which Articles are confirmed by the present Treaty.*

If it were necessary to multiply Authorities, to settle the Sense, and Meaning, of the *Munster Treaty*, we might appeal to Custom; and I believe it will weigh extremely with all thinking Men, that the *Dutch*, and after Them the *English*, have enjoyed their Commerce and Navigation in the *Indies*; for above seventy Years, conformably to the true Intent of That, and other subsequent Treaties, without ever meeting with the least Interruption from the People of the *Austrian Netherlands*. In all this Time, there is but one single Instance, that a Subject of the *Spanish Low Countries*, attempted to navigate within the *Dutch Districts*. This was one *Sebastian Brower*, and as soon as It was known at *Batavia*, the Governour General gave Orders

ders to the *Captains* of the Company's Men of War, to take *Brower*, which He being informed of, forbore his Voyages. This Man's Attempt, and the Opposition made to Him by the *Dutch*, were both very well known in *Europe*, as well in *Holland*, as at *Madrid*; and the *Dutch Company* approved the Proceedings of their *Governour*, but the *King of Spain* took no Notice of the Affair, which He certainly would have done, had He believed the Conduct of the *Hollanders* unjust, or Inconsistent with the Treaties that then subsisted between *Spain*, and the *United Provinces*.

Upon the Whole, I think it may fairly be concluded, that by Virtue of the 5th and 6th Articles of the Treaty of *Munster*, the *Inhabitants* of the *Austrian Netherlands*, are excluded from trading within the Limits prescribed by the Charters of the *Dutch India Companies*: That their Condition, in this Respect, is not altered by the Change of Government, in the *Austrian Netherlands*; and that the *Emperor* is bound to hold Them in the same Condition, both as Successor of the last *King of Spain*, *Charles II*, and by Virtue of the Treaties He has Himself Personally engaged in.

If any Thing could make void the Stipulations contained in the 5th and 6th Articles

cles of the *Treaty of Munster*, It must either be, that the Things stipulated were contrary to *Justice* and *Equity*, or that *Philip IV*, had not Power by Virtue of the *fundamental Laws* of his *Sovereignty* over the *Low Countries*, to exclude Them from the *Indian Commerce*.

But it is uncontestable that there is Nothing contained in these Stipulations, contrary to *Justice* and *Equity*, unless we suppose that by the *Law of Nature*, and *Nations*, a People cannot lawfully be deprived of the Liberty of trading wherever They please, upon any Account whatsoever. But tho' we extend the natural Liberty that all Men have to Navigation, and Commerce, to the utmost Extent, yet It will be impossible to prove, that this is an *unalienable* Right. There is no Principle in the *Law of Nature* which binds Us not to divest our selves of the Liberty of Navigation and Commerce; or, that obliges Others not to exact a Renunciation from Us, in those Points, by lawful Means, tho' in their own Favour. The Care that every Man is obliged to take of his own Preservation, and of Those that depend on Him, does not enjoin Us, to preserve this Liberty in all its Extent.

The

The vast *Ocean*, indeed, is not the Property of any particular Nation; Nothing is plainer, than that every One is naturally free to sail upon it; nor can it be denied that every Man has a natural Liberty, to negotiate and trade with any Other, that is willing to deal with Him. But what shall hinder *two Princes*, or, *two Nations* from contracting with each Other, that One of Them shall not fit out such and such Ships, or that These shall not Sail further than such a Part of the Ocean; or, into this or that particular Sea, or that They shall not trade to such a particular Place. Of these kinds of *Compacts* there are a great Number of Examples, and if there were None, It would be impossible to prove that They are either *unjust* or *cruel*, except They reduce One of the contracting Parties, to the Want of such Things as are *necessary for Life*, and could not be procured, unless *by the Commerce or Navigation prohibited*. In this Case the Care of our own Preservation recommended so strongly to every Man by Nature, would bring a just Exception to the Rule.

But if there be *within our own Country*, or *in any other Country*, without the Limits regulated by the Treaty, not only wherewithal to answer the *Necessities and Conveniencies of Life*,

*Life, but likewise to furnish Riches ; can any Thing be less rigorous, than a Clause which should prohibit Navigation to some certain Places ; especially if this Exclusion extends only to very distant Countries, that make as it were a new World to Us. And, indeed, It is sufficient that We renounce, by Agreement, to any Rights We may have had before. The Power of renouncing, and divesting our selves of such Rights as We may have a Mind to give up, and the Right which Others acquire by such a Renunciation, instead of destroying our natural Liberty, is essential to It, which would otherwise, not only be *unuseful*, but *troublesome* to Us, if we could not *relinquish a Part of our Right*, or the *Practice of It*, upon such Conditions as We thought proper ; or by Way of Exchange for such Conveniences, or Considerations, as may be offered to Us by Others.*

This Renunciation, when it respects a *whole People*, may be made either *directly*, or *indirectly* ; by all Those that are interested, or by Those *who act in their Name, and are invested with a just Power to restrain Them to the Observation of the Treaty*. 'Tis then the very same Thing, as if all in General, and each in Particular, had signed the Articles, and sworn to the Observation of Them. At least, if We pretend not
to

to be bound by such an Ingagement, tho' It should even be contrary to Our Right, yet we must be obliged to enter our Protest against It in Time; But if there be no such Thing done, and on the contrary We have submitted our Selves, especially, for a long Time, to the Conditions imposed by the Treaty, We cannot afterwards pretend to exempt ourselves from the Observation of It, upon any Pretext whatever, without a Manifest Violation of the most incontestable Rules of the Law of Nature, and Nations. There is Nothing in which the *Civilians* agree more unanimously than in This. They go so far as even to admit a tacit Renunciation, founded only upon a Man's having neglected, or forborn to urge his Right against Another, who may have possessed Himself of such a certain Navigation, or of a Fishery in any particular Part of the Ocean. (a) Nor are these to be called *Subtilties* or *Evasions* of the *Civil Law*, but reasonable Decisions equally conformable to the *Law of Nature and Nations*. There are a thousand Ex-

(a) Si quisquam in Fluminis publice diverticulo Solus pluribus Annis piscatus sit, alterum eodem uti jure prohiber, Diges. Lib. 44. Tit. 3. De divers. temp. Prescriptionis. Leg. 7.

amples to be given, where a tacit Consent, is acknowledged by all civilized Nations, to have equal Force with the most solemn Conventions; nor can It be contested, without opening a Door to numberless Difficulties, which must produce endless Wars, and Hostilities, to the utter Ruin and Destruction of Mankind.

The Law admits the Force of this tacit Consent, even in Point of Property, between Man and Man. My Neighbour contrives to Bring a Water over my Land to his own, and I see It; He continues the Practice for a long Time, I suffer It; the *Aqueduct* shall then subsist for the Future, without my Consent; and I am fairly deemed to have allowed voluntarily that the Water should take that Course, because I did not hinder It in Time. (a) Then sure, with greater Reason, a *Renunciation* must in It self be lawful, and irrevocable, which is made by an express Convention.

It remains now to enquire, if a *Sovereign* has Power, as such, to oblige his Subjects,

(a) Si Aquam, per Possessionem Martialis, eo sciente, duxisti, Servitutem, Exemplo Rerum immobilium, Tempore quæstisti. Cod. Lib. Tit. 34. de Servitut. & Aqua; Leg. 11.

by Treaty, to abstain from any particular Commerce, by Sea, or Land.

The Power of regulating Commerce between Subjects and Subjects, and between Them and Strangers, has ever been considered as a *fundamental* Right of *Sovereignty*. (a) If this be denied by the *Imperialists*; They may be asked why the *Subjects* of the *Austrian Netherlands*, who have lately attempted a Commerce to the *East-Indies*, thought They had any Need of the *Emperor's Permission*, and whether It was not in that *Monarch's Power to refuse Them*; This will hardly be contested; and had He thought fit to have refused Them, He would in that have exercised an *Act of Sovereignty*, as effectually, as by granting Them his Permission.

A *Prince* may certainly forbid all his Subjects, without Exception, to trade to this, or that foreign Country; and by Virtue of the very same Authority, He may contract with another *Prince*, and engage that his Subjects shall not follow this, or that particular Trade; who,

(a) See *Gasper Zeigler*, de *Juribus Majestatis* Lib. 1. Cap. 41.

upon the Promulgation of such a Treaty, are obliged to abstain from the Commerce interdicted.

But let Us come still nearer to the point in Question, and enquire what Hardship the *People* of the *Low Countries* incur, and what they lose by this *Exclusion* of the *Treaty* of *Munster*. The Answer is, a *Right* of *Navigation*, and *Commerce*, of which hitherto, *they had never made the least use*; but certainly a future *Exclusion* from what they had never yet enjoyed, could be esteemed no great Cruelty: And if it be said, that the *People* of the *Austrian Netherlands*, had voluntarily abstained for so long a time from the *Commerce* in Question; the Consequence will lye against Them, that they had it not very much at Heart: But if, as the Truth is, we say, that the *Prohibitions* of their *Sovereigns* were very strictly observed, We must likewise own, that the *Continuation* of *those Prohibitions*, could not be called an extraordinary Hardship. He that has lived a long time in the Want of any Thing, may continue the Disuse of it, without any Violence to Himself; and much less are we sensible of the want of that, which we never enjoyed at all.

But if we consider the *Circumstances* of the *Austrian Netherlands* at the *Treaty* of
Munster,

Munster, we shall find, that this *Exclusion* must then have carried quite another Face than at present ; and had nothing in it that appeared insupportable. A greater Interest than that of *Commerce* pressed Them closely, and demanded, that those People should consent, and agree patiently, for their own sakes, to the Continuation of that, which They had hitherto suffered from the Commands of their Sovereign. They were weary, and harrassed with a long War, which They could put an End to, by no other means ; and reduced as they were, there is no Room to doubt, that They would have bought their Peace with the Loss of a more valuable, and less contestable Priviledge, than that of the *Indian Commerce*, had it been insisted on. Cases of Necessity, like these, will always have their Weight, in spite of common rules, and the most indisputable Priviledges. They authorize the Sovereign, to give up by Treaty, such Things, as if there was no such necessity, ought never to be dispensed with ; and in these Cases, more than ever, the tacit Consent of the People, must be esteemed valid, and equal to the most public and solemn Concurrence.

It is vain, for the *Imperialists* to object, that the other People of *Europe*, are free to undertake

undertake this Commerce ; the Freedom of others proves nothing in Favour of those who have given up their Liberty.

But to spare my self, and the Reader, the Trouble of citing *Treaties*, and *Examples*, of a *Limitation*, and *Restraint set to the Commerce*, and *Navigation*, of One of the contracting Parties, I shall close this Part of my Enquiry, with two Citations, from two of the greatest Men of the Age They lived in, whose Authority, Nobody will venture to dispute, GROTIUS, and PUFFENDORF, The first of whom, expresses Himself thus. (a) ‘ Nations, as well as particular Persons, may give up, in Favour of others, not only those Rights which are peculiar to Themselves, but those likewise which are common to Them with the Rest of Mankind.

Monsieur Puffendorf, expresses Himself thus, (b) ‘ No Power can lawfully hinder other Nations, not His Subjects, who may border upon the Ocean, from trading with each other; *unless one of these Nations has engaged Herself in his Favour, not to per-*

(a) GROTIUS de Jure Belli et Pacis. Lib. 2. Cap. 3. Sect. 16.

(b) De leg, Nat. et Gen. Lib. 4. Cap. 5. Sect. 10.

' mit Another to come and negotiate with
 ' Her ; or that This, has not renounced the
 ' Right She might have originally to trade
 ' with the Other. Every one is at Liber-
 ' ty to relinquish his Right to whom He
 ' pleases, provided that by so doing, no
 ' Prejudice is done to a third Person. If
 ' an European People have acquired a Coun-
 ' try in Africa, or the Indies, by any Means,
 ' which, according to the received Custom
 ' of Nations, is sufficient to give a good
 ' Title, They may if They please, abso-
 ' lutely refuse the Ports and Commerce of
 ' that Country to any other trading People, or
 ' permit Them only upon certain Conditions,
 ' and under such and such Duties. This
 ' is practised every Day, and in Rea-
 ' lity I see Nothing in It, that is contrary
 ' to the Law of Nature. For this Liberty
 ' of Commerce, which makes so much Noise,
 ' does not prohibit any State from favouring
 ' Her own Subjects, and preferring their In-
 ' terest to that of Strangers.

Thus I think It is made Evident, that
 by the 5th and 6th Articles of the Treaty of
 Munster, the People of the Austrian Nether-
 lands, are excluded from all Commerce within
 the Districts of the Dutch Companies in In-
 dia; that the Emperor is obliged to main-
 tain that Treaty, both as Heir and Successor

to *Charles II*, late *King of Spain*, and by *Virtue of Treaties, and Conventions*, entered into by *Himself*; and what is still more, that there is no *Cruelty*, no *Hardship*, nor any *Injustice* done to the *People of the Austrian Netherlands*; who, when the *Munster Treaty* was concluded, would doubtless have been glad to have purchased a *Peace*, at a much dearer *Rate*, than the *Continuation of an Exclusion* already imposed upon Them, by their *Sovereigns*.

I come now to examine into the *Consequences* that will naturally arise from the *Prosperity of the OSTEND COMPANY*, and the *Revolutions* that may be expected in *Commerce*, should the *EMPEROR* maintain his *Charter*. But before I enter upon this *Subject* I must desire the *Reader* to cast his *Eye* back to the *Account* we have given of the ancient *State of Commerce* in the *Austrian Netherlands*, when under the *Government*, of the *DUKES of BURGUNDY*, and *KINGS of SPAIN*, (a) some of whom endeavoured, rather to decrease, than augment It; which will be of *Use* to instruct Us what may be expected from the *Revival*

(a) Part 2. Pag. 258.

of Commerce in those Countries under all the Influence of Royal Favour.

I have already taken Notice of the advantageous Trade the DUTCH have carried on for a long Time past with the *Austrian Netherlands*; and I need not inform the Reader, that should the *Ostend Company* subsist, there must be an entire Stop to the Importation of all *Indian Commodities* into *Flanders*, as well from *England* as *Holland*, with Exception to the *fine Spices*, which are only to be had from the *Dutch*. This is too clear to want any further Explanation. Prohibitions have been made for some Time to this Purpose, and It is self evident, that as *England* and *Holland*, supplied the *Austrian Netherlands* with all the Productions of the *Indies*, before the Establishment of the *Ostend Company*, so the Profits accruing to both the Nations from their *India Trade*, must be lessened in Proportion to the Gains which that Company makes by its Commerce.

But the Loss which the *English* and *Dutch* would sustain from hence, tho' a Point of the greatest Consideration, is far from being the worst They have to expect from the Prosperity of the *Ostend Company*. It must be remembred, that *Bruges*, *Ghent*, *Brussels*, *Mechlin*, and *Antwerp*, all subsist;
F f 4 with

with many other large Towns, situated at small Distances, inhabited by an active People, extreamly devoted to Commerce; and as the *Ostend Company's* Charter is formed very much upon the Model of that granted by the STATES GENERAL, to the *Dutch East-India Company*, so Care is taken, that the great Towns of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, like those of the Province of *Holland*, shall all feel an immediate Influence from the *Indian Commerce*. Thus whilst the *public Sales* of the *Company's* Goods are confined to *Ostend* and *Bruges*, the *Charter* directs the *general Assembly* of the *Company*, to be held for the first three Years at *Antwerp*, afterwards at *Ghent* and *Bruges*, and so alternatively, at one of these Places, till the Term of it, which is thirty Years, expires. So that, were the *Company* to subsist, there is an ample Foundation laid for the Revival of the long alienated *Manufactures* and *Fisheries*, that have formerly flourished in these Provinces; to which are added, the *East* and *West-India Trades*, which They never yet enjoyed; and these, I think, must in time, produce a *naval Power*, and a *general Commerce*, equal perhaps, to that which was formerly carried on in *Brabant* and *Flanders*.

It

It requires very little Reflection to see that it is impossible for the FLEMMINGS to become a trading People, without the utmost Damage to the Commerce of *Great Britain* and *Holland*. Should Navigation be revived in the *Low Countries*, and the EMPEROR, with all the assistance of his Allies, ever be able to fit out a *Fleet* strong enough to look the *English* and *Dutch* in the Face, 'tis certain he would attempt to open the *Scheld*; and should this once be done, it is more than probable, that *Antwerp* and *Bruges* will recover from *Amsterdam*, the Trade they formerly lost to Her. This indeed, is a remote Prospect, considering the present strength of the *British Fleet*, and the weakness of the *Emperor* in naval Force: And yet, it may well deserve our Consideration, even at this distance. *Fisberies* are a Nursery for *Seamen*, as *Manufactures* are the Basis of a general Commerce; and if we reflect upon the strange Revolutions that have happened in the *maritime Forces* of the several Powers of *Europe*, within a short Tract of Time, We shall find that we cannot be too watchful, nor too resolute in our Measures to suppress the Navigation of the *Austrian Netherlands* in its Infancy. In 1588, the *Spanish Fleet* was the
Terror

Terror of *Europe*. *America* and the *Netherlands*, those distant Branches of the *Spanish Monarchy*, were in a Manner joined to the Continent of *old Spain* by the Force of Navigation; yet in little more than threescore Years, this prodigious Power was so reduced, that the *Spaniards* were under the Necessity of hiring *Dutch Vessels*, to carry on their Trade to the *West-Indies*. (a) Few Persons are ignorant from how despicable a Beginning the *Dutch* derive their naval Power. In 1572 They first began to cruise upon the *Spaniard*, with twenty four poor Ships, got together by the Count de la Marque, and Commissioned by WILLIAM I. PRINCE OF ORANGE; (b) but in 1588, They were able to block up the DUKE of PARMA in the Ports of *Flanders*, by which They had the Honour of concurring with the *English* in the Defeat of the *Spanish Armada*; and in 1610, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, computed that They had not less than twenty Thousand Vessels, of one Kind or other, in the *United Provinces*. So vast an Encrease of Shipping in the Course of 39 Years, ap-

(a) See *De Witts Memoirs*, Part 2, Page 129.

(b) *Grøt. Ann.* Lib. 2.

pears prodigious; yet such are the constant Effects of *Commerce*, in the Hands of an active industrious People. In the Middle of the last Century, the Dominion of the *Narrow Seas* was contested between *England* and *Holland* with Fleets of *one hundred and twenty Sail*, of the *Line of Battle*, on the Part of each Nation, whilst *France* had very few Ships either for *War* or *Traffick*; yet since that Time, we have seen the *French* able to cope with the combined Fleets of *England* and *Holland*, and at the Instant I am writing, *Great Britain* has more effective Ships of *War*, than *Spain*, *Holland* and *France* joyned together.

If we look into the *North*, we shall find the naval Forces of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, reduced to near one Third of what They were formerly; whilst *Muscovy*, which thirty Years ago, had not a single Ship, would now be found equal to the whole joynt Force of all the other Maritime Powers, in the *Baltick*.

I need not say more, to show the Probability of the *Emperor's* acquiring a naval Force, if Trade be suffered to revive in the *Austrian Netherlands*: a Point that deserves the utmost attention of *England*, because there is Nothing the Nation ought to apprehend more than to see *Flanders* in the Hands

Hands of a *Prince* who should at the same Time be powerful at *Sea*.

The Isles of *Zealand* bar the Entrance, of the *Scheld*, and up higher, the Passage to *Antwerp* is absolutely commanded by the Forts *Henry* and *Lillo*, with some other Garrisons in the Hands of the STATES GENERAL; so that as long as the *Zealanders* continue firm to the *Union*, the Emperor, cannot open the Navigation of this River, without a Superiority at Sea. *Fort Henry*, *Lillo*, and the other Garrisons on the *Main* may be taken, but without being stronger than the *Dutch* in naval Force, It would be impossible to attack *Zealand*. PRINCE MAURICE was so sensible, of the advantageous Situation and Strength of these Islands, that He once told the *States General*, that rather than conclude a shameful Peace, with the *Spaniard*, he would continue the War with the Assistance of the *Zealanders* alone, and had not the *Court of Vienna* now been sensible of the Difficulty of opening the *Scheld*, ANTWERP had certainly been made the chief Seat of their *India Company* from the Beginning. But this Difficulty would vanish in Proportion, as the EMPEROR should grow powerful at Sea, and therefore, It would be Insensibility in *Great Britain* and *Holland*, to sit still and see Him extend his Navigation.

When

When ever his *Imperial Majesty* should find Himself strong enough to execute his Designs, there is no Reason to suppose He would shew more Respect to one Part of the Treaty of *Munster*, than the Other; He would be for driving the *Dutch* entirely out of *Flanders*, and for restoring the Canals of *Sas*, *Swin*, and the other Mouths that open into the Sea, on the side of the *States General*; and then if *France* should so far forget her Interest, as to break the Engagements she is entered into by the Treaty of *Hanover*, or if a civil War, or any other unfore-seen Accident should disable Her from complying with Them, what shall stop the Course of the *Imperial Arms*, or who will be answerable, not only for the *Dutch Flanders*, and the Garrisons of the *States General* in the *Barrier Towns*, but even for the Safety of the *United Provinces*? The same Arguments, by which it is maintained, that the present EMPEROR is not bound by the Treaty of *Munster*, nor Successor to the late KING of SPAIN, CHARLES II, will prove as well, That He is not bound by any Treaty, entered into by his Predecessors, the *Kings of Spain*, since the Accession of *Philip le Bel* to that Crown, and consequently those Treaties, by which the Sovereignty of the *United Provinces* are confirmed, are absolutely

absolutely null and void: All things must return to the State they were in, in the time of MAXIMILIAN I; the *Emperor* is Lord of the *United Provinces*, and all Acquisitions that have been since made by any Power whatever, of any Part of the antient Patrimony of the House of *Burgundy*, are all likewise void; we cannot except one any more than the other, and all without Distinction, must return into the *Emperor's* Dependence. Indeed, the Arguments brought to prove this, are manifestly absurd, but Absurdities lose their Quality, when supported by an Army of a hundred and fifty Thousand Men, and if a War should break out between the several Powers engaged in the Treaties of *Vienna* and *Hanover*, it is beyond all doubt, that the *Emperor* would invade the *United Provinces*, under this Title, bad as it is; in which Case, if Success should attend the *Imperial Arms*, ZEALAND, which from the Nature of its situation, must be last attacked, would probably endeavour to avoid the Storm, by making Peace with the Conqueror; and in that Situation, the best she could expect, would be, to be re-united to the *Austrian Netherlands*, and so become a part of the EMPEROR's hereditary Dominions. The *Scheld* is then open,

open, and the *naval Power of Zealand*, at his *Imperial Majesty's* Devotion, to be employed for the Protection, and Encouragement of the Navigation and Commerce of *Antwerp*, and the rest of the *Netherlands*.

The Mischiefs that *England* and *Holland* may apprehend from such a Situation of Affairs are innumerable, and therefore It is certainly the Business of both Nations, by all possible Methods to obviate the Danger. But though the *SCHELD* should never be opened, and the Communication of the *Austrian Netherlands* with the Sea, remain as at present, by *Ostend* and *Nieuport*; yet there is a sufficient Foundation laid for the Revival of *Fisheries* and *Manufactures* in those Provinces, the certain Consequences of which, are *general Commerce*, with a *naval Power*; and It is equally incontestable, that the People of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, cannot enjoy the One, except at the Expence of *Great Britain* and *Holland*; nor that the *EMPEROR* can be Master of the Other, without breaking the *Ballance* of Power in *Europe*.

I will conclude my Reflections upon this Head, with observing, That the *Austrian Netherlands*, are full as well situated, as either *England* or *Holland*, for making an
Exchange

Exchange of Commodities between the *Northern* and *Southern Parts* of *Europe*, and in many *Respects* may hope for much greater *Advantages* in *Points* of *Trade*, under the *Protection* of the *Emperor*, than either *England* or *Holland* can promise *Themselves*, even in the most favourable *Conjunction*. His IMPERIAL MAJESTY is Master of *Sicily*, *Naples* and *Milan*; and to facilitate a *Correspondence*, or rather to force a *Commerce* between those *Countries* and the *Austrian Netherlands*, He would undoubtedly prohibit the *Importation* of such *Commodities* into *Sicily* and his *Italian States*, either from *England*, *Holland*, or any other *Nation*, as *They* might be furnished with from *Brabant* and *Flanders*. As He is of very great *Weight* in the *Northern Parts* of *Europe*, He would, probably, find means to conclude a *Treaty* of *Commerce* with the *CZAR* of *MUSCOVY*, by *Favour* of which, His *Subjects* might furnish *Themselves* with the *Commodities* of *Russia*, upon better *Terms* than those of *England* or *Holland*. As He is *Protector* of *Hamborough*, He would certainly be able to facilitate the *Importation* of *Herrings*, and *Salted Fish* of all *Kinds*, from the *Netherlands* into that *City*, as well as *woollen Manufactures*, and other *Particulars*, now furnish-
ed

ed by the *English* and *Dutch*, which would be from thence distributed into the different Countries that border upon the *Elbe*. As ARCH DUKE of AUSTRIA, He would prohibit the Commodities of *England*, and *Holland*, in the *Hereditary* Dominions of his Family; and in Quality of EMPEROR, He would be able to influence the Course they have at present in many other Provinces of *Germany*. As his Power should encrease, He would be equally industrious to destroy the Liberties of COLOGNE, and put a force upon the Navigation of the RHINE, as the *Dutch* have hitherto been to preserve both. The same Thing may be expected from Him, with Regard to LIEGE and the Navigation of the MAEZE. And Lastly, As the Dominions of his *Imperial Majesty* are contiguous to those of the OTTOMAN PORTE, It will always be in his Power, by yielding some small Advantages to the TURKS upon the Frontier of *Hungary*, to settle such Conditions of Commerce, both for His *Italian* Subjects, and those of the *Austrian Netherlands*, as will enable them to Trade to SMIRNA, and the other Ports of the GRAND SEIGNIOR's Dominions, to better Advantage than the rest of *Europe*.

These being necessary Consequences of the *Ostend Company's* Prosperity, the STATES GENERAL must have Recourse to *foreign Alliances* to oblige the *Emperor* to suppress It. But when-ever his *Imperial Majesty* shall content Himself with possessing the *Austrian Netherlands*, upon the Footing prescribed by the *Barrier Treaty* of 1715, their HIGH MIGHTINESSES will be so far from giving Him any Disturbance, that They will always concur in a *defensive Alliance*, for preserving the Succession of those Provinces in the *Imperial Family*, and for securing Them from any Encroachments on the Part of *France*, if that *Crown* should again attempt their Conquest, after the Example of LEWIS XIV, whose Conduct was regulated upon the ambitious Plans of *Richlieu* and *Mazarine*.

A defensive Alliance between the *Emperor* and the *States General*, against *France*, is very advantageous to the *united Provinces*, because It is not only grounded upon a *common Fear*, where the Danger is equally to be apprehended by both the Parties; but the *Emperor* being first exposed to the Attack, must be the first to perform the Conditions of the *Treaty*: a Point which the *weakest* of the *contracting Powers* ought always to have a special Regard to.

But

But an Alliance with his *Imperial Majesty*, against any Power of the Continent, except *France*, would, in all Probability be useless to the *United Provinces*, because the *Emperor* is too considerable to be attacked by any other of his Neighbours; and were the *States General* engaged in a Quarrel, It is very much to be feared, that instead of performing the Conditions of the *Treaty*, in the Quality of a faithful Ally, his *Imperial Majesty* would rather chuse to foment the Dispute, and be pleased to see two inferiour Powers destroy one another, whose Forces being united, might be formidable to Him.



G 2

SECT



SECT. II.
OF THE
ALLIANCES
OF THE
STATES GENERAL
WITH
FRANCE



THE Animosity which the old
DUKES of BURGUNDY bore
to the KINGS of FRANCE,
having been transmitted
with their Dominions, to the
House of AUSTRIA, It was
very natural for the PRINCE of ORANGE,
WILLIAM

WILLIAM I. and the STATES of the UNITED PROVINCES to expect a powerful Assistance from the *French*, to support them in their Revolt against PHILIP II. But the Civil Wars that Distracted *France* during the Reigns of *Francis II.* and CHARLES IX; The detestable Intrigues of KATHERINE DE MEDICIS, and the private Agreement made between the Courts of *France* and *Madrid*, to exterminate the *Protestants* in their several Dominions, were the Causes why the CROWN of FRANCE either could not, or would not give that Assistance to the revolted *Netherlands*; which by all Rules of good Policy, It ought to have done, in order to reduce the exorbitant Power of the House of *Austria*.

HENRY III, who succeeded CHARLES IX, did not understand his Interest better than his Predecessor; but the *King* of *Spain* having broke his Faith with Him in a most treacherous Manner, by supporting the DUKE of GUIZE, and the CATHOLIC LEAGUE, HENRY lent the *Netherlanders* several Sums of Money, and at last, permitted his Brother, the DUKE of ALENCON, to accept the Sovereignty of the *Low Countries*, which was offered Him by the Confederate States; yet the *King* never durst profess Himself the Protector of the *Netherlands*.

lands, and by the small Assistance He gave his Brother, his *Majesty* appeared rather to connive at the Undertaking, than approve It. The Truth is, *Henry III*, was so much harrassed by GUIZE, at the Head of the *League* on one Side, and by the *Hugonots* on the other, that he was able to do very little; and to this we may add, that He was both Jealous of *Alencon*, and unwilling to encourage rebellious Subjects

To this Prince, succeeded the great HENRY IV, who by a long Train of glorious Successes, the Effects of an unparallel'd Valour and Conduct, destroy'd the *League*, broke the Designs of *Philip II*, and restored the *Crown of France* to its former Dignity. This Prince openly declared Himself a Friend to the *United Provinces*, and at one Time might be said to have rivalled QUEEN ELIZABETH in the Friendship and Affection of the *States General*. At least the *Queen* was Jealous of the Alliance formed between the *King* and the *United Provinces* in 1596, by which they engaged to furnish his *Majesty* with four hundred and fifty Thousand *Florins*, for the Service of the ensuing Campaign, and the *King* obliged Himself to attack *Flanders* with a considerable Army, in order to make a Diversion in Favour

vour of the *United Provinces*. (a) But the Peace of *Vervins*, concluded between the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* in 1598, restored Things to their former Situation; the *Dutch* were forced to supplicate *Queen Elizabeth's* Friendship in the humblest Manner, and that politic *Princess*, made Them pay the Price of their Inconstancy, by obliging the *States* to settle the Debt They owed to *England*, at a Time when They were not in a Condition to Dispute It with Her; which being done, She restored Them to her Favour, and was their Protectrice to the End of her Life: After which, They were again obliged to have Recourse to the *King of France*, who was ever afterwards their faithful Ally.

The Friendship and good Intelligence that subsisted between HENRY IV, and PRINCE MAURICE, was revived in the Reign of his Successor LEWIS XIII, between Prince FREDRIC HENRY, and CARDINAL RICHLIEU, who found a Union of Councils with the *States General*, necessary for

(a) *Grotius* Ann. Lib. 10. Also, *L' Histoire des Provinces Unies*, par le Noble, Tom. 2. Pag. 223.

perfecting his ambitious Schemes for the Elevation of the *French Monarchy*. MAZARINE followed the Example of his Predecessor ; but in Proportion as the Force, and Grandeur of the *Spanish Monarchy* diminished under that of *France*, the Animosity of the *States General* towards the first, gave Place to a Jealousy of the growing Power of the Latter. They were of Opinion, that if the *French* should once annex *Flanders* to their Dominions, It would be impossible to hinder Them from conquering the *United Provinces*, when ever they should think fit to attempt It, and in this Fear they concluded a Peace with *Spain*, at *Munster*, in direct Opposition to CARDINAL MAZARINE, who omitted neither Promises nor Threats to prevent It. (a)

Before the Reign of HENRY IV, the *French* subsisted entirely by Agriculture: They had few Manufactures, and little or no Shipping, so that hitherto, the Interests of *France* and *Holland* could not interfere in Maritime Affairs; and the Grandeur

LEWIS XIV, in several Letters to Count de Estrades, states this Peace, *la Defection des Hollandois*. See D' Estrade's Memoires.

of the *Spanish Monarchy*, which menaced the Kingdom of *France*, as well as the *Republic* of the *United Provinces*, obliged Them to give each other all possible Assistance on the Continent. But when HENRY IV, had concluded the Peace of *Vervins*, and restored the Domestic Tranquillity of his Kingdom, the *French* applied Themselves to Manufactures with a great deal of Industry: The Welfare of Commerce began to be the Care of the *French Cabinet*. RICHLIEU, and MAZARINE, amidst the numberless Intrigues in which They were engaged, had a constant Eye to the trading Interest, and during the Ministry of the Latter, the Manufactures fabricated in *France* were more than all *Europe* could consume.

It is very much to be wondred at, however, that so great a Genius as Richlieu, should not have extended his Care to the Promotion of Navigation. If the *French*, during his Administration, had begun to export their Manufactures and the several Productions of *France* in their own Ships, they would soon have been too powerful for the Rest of *Europe*, and the Circumstances of that Time, seemed to invite them to the Undertaking. Richlieu had broke the Strength of the *Hugonots*, and was Master of the
Coast

Coast, and *Sea-Ports* of the Kingdom; the Naval Power of *Spain* was reduced; The supine Temper of JAMES I, and the Troubles that distracted *England* in the Reign of his Son, left Them no Room to apprehend any Obstruction on the Part of *Great Britain*: And the Alliance of *France*, was hitherto of so great an Importance to the *United Provinces*, that the STATES GENERAL durst not have quarrelled with that Crown upon any Score whatsoever. It must be allowed on the other Hand, that the Arbitrary Government, and Religion of *France*; the light Temper of the Natives, and the false Pride of the Nobility, were all of Them strong Impediments to a general Commerce; and whether CARDINAL RICHLIEU thought Them insurmountable, whether being Himself a Stranger to Commerce, He was unwilling to give any Body else the Credit of performing so great a Work; or, that He postponed the Execution of It in Hopes of a Conjunction still more favourable, I shall not take upon me to determine; but 'tis certain, the Want of *Merchant Ships*, and a *Naval Power*, made the Alliance of the *United Provinces* absolutely necessary to the *French*. During all the Reign of *Lewis XIII*, and for near Thirty Years

Years of that of his Secceſſor, the Ports of *France* were continually filled with *Dutch Veſſels*, which were employed not only in a general Commerce between that Country and the reſt of *Europe*, but even in transporting the *French* Commodities from one Part of the Kingdom to another.

CARDINAL MAZARINE ſaw the Omiſſion of his Predeceſſor, and would have repaired it, had He not been prevented by the Violence of thoſe Factions that reigned in *France*, during his Miniſtry. But when He had got the better of his Enemies, and after OLIVER CROMWEL, in compliance with his perſonal Interests, rather than thoſe of the Nation, had embraced the Alliance of *FRANCE*, and declared War againſt *SPAIN* in 1655, the *Cardinal* then fell upon Measures to promote the *French* Navigation, and acquire a naval Power.

I ſhall make no Scruple to date the Grandeur and Superiority of *France* over the reſt of *Europe*, from the Year 1655. 'Tis certain, that before this Year, *France* had never thought it her Interest to quarrel with the *Dutch*, tho' provoked to it by the ſeparate Peace they had made at *Munſter*. That *Crown*, on the contrary, had been very careful to cultivate an Alliance with the
United

United Provinces, to prevent their joining with the *Spaniards*, which might prove an Obstacle to the *French Conquests* in *Flanders*; But from the time that CROMWEL declared Himself, *Mazarine*, was so far from being anxious to preserve the Friendship of the *States General*, that He not only obstructed their Commerce by extravagant *Imposts*, but suffered their Merchant-Ships to be attacked by *French Privateers* in the *Mediterranean*; and if we may believe the *Dutch Writers*, the CARDINAL Himself had a considerable share in the Booty. MONSIEUR FOUQUET, *Sur-Intendant* of the *French Finances*, was authorised to establish several Companies, for the *Herring, Cod, and Whale Fisheries*. The KING granted them very great Immunities, and the Importation of *Whale-Fins, and Oyl*, into *France*; was prohibited to all others. Besides this, a Duty of *fifty Sols per Tun* was laid on all foreign Ships, both at their coming in and going out of the Sea-ports of *France*.

The DUTCH, who were far from bearing these Indignities tamely, sent a Squadron of Men of War into the *Mediterranean*, in the latter end of the Year 1666, under the Command of ADMIRAL RUYTER, with Orders to make Reprisals. Their Admiral did his Duty, and took two Ships of
War

War, belonging to the *King of France*, which *Mazarine* had shamefully hired out to serve as *Privateers*, to particular Adventurers, on Condition of receiving one third of the Prizes that should fall into their Hands. The taking of these Vessels, set the Court of *France* in a flame. *Ruyter* was stiled a *Pirate*, because in giving Chase to the *French*, he had hoisted *English Colours*, in order to deceive them. 'Twas said, that if the *Dutch* had suffered some losses from *Privateers*, yet they could not charge the *King's Officers* with having done Them any Damage, whereas *Ruyter* had taken two Ships that immediately belonged to his *Majesty*. They said, that so great an Affront could not be attoned for, but by the Blood of Him who was the Author of it ; that the Resentment of the *Crown* should even be extended to the whole *Dutch Nation*, and that *France* ought to declare open War with the *Republic*. This Heat was moderated however, by the *Chancellor Segair*, and *Monsieur de Villeroi* ; but even these *Lords* could not hinder the *Court* from sending Orders to seize all the *Ships* and *Effects* belonging to the *Dutch*, that should be found in the *Sea-Ports* of *France*.

MAZARINE was encouraged to act in this haughty manner, by a private Treaty, which
He

He had just concluded between his Master LEWIS XIV, and OLIVER CROMWEL, by the 6th Article of which, the PROTECTOR obliged Himself to furnish that *Prince* with a *Squadron of thirty six Men of War*, to cruize upon the *Spaniard* and the *Hollander*. (a)

In the mean Time the *Dutch Minister* at the *Court of France*, received Orders from his Masters, to represent their Astonishment at what had passed; with Relation to the Seizure of the Ships and Merchandize belonging to their Subjects; and on the other Hand Monsieur DE THOU, his *most Christian Majesty's Ambassador* at the *Hague*, was commanded to justify the Procedure of the *French Court*, to require that an exemplary Punishment should be inflicted on the Person of RUYTER, and to complain of the indecent Liberty taken by Monsieur BOREEL; *Embassador of the Republic at the Court of France*, in his Remonstrances to the *French King*, at a public Audience. (b)

(a) In this Treaty the Protector is called *invincible*, and the Treaty it self is stiled, *Secretum et inviolabile Fædus*, See the Treaty at large *Recueil des Traitez* Tome. II p. 709.

(b) See the Speech of Monsieur de Thou to the *States General* April 1657, *Aitzema* Book 37. p. 52.

The several Memorials and Representations that were made reciprocally by both the Parties, having failed to accommodate the Quarrel, the *States General*, ignorant of the private Treaty concluded between *France* and *Oliver Cromwel*, came at last to very vigorous Resolutions in Behalf of Themselves and their Subjects. It was determined to have a Fleet of forty eight Sail of Men of War, which should block up the Ports of *France*, and seize every thing that attempted either to go in or out. All manner of Commerce with *France* was prohibited, and Orders were sent to all the *Sea-Officers* to attack the *French Ships*, where ever they met them. (a) But when the Dye seemed to be cast, and all Men expected to hear of the first Blow being struck, an obliging Letter from the most Christian King, to the *States General*, restored the Calm. (b)

It was very natural for the *States* to lay hold of any thing that gave them Hopes of terminating the Dispute by way of Negotiation. The Necessity they were under of having *French Manufactures* to carry on their Trade with other Nations, obliged them to tempo-

(a) Annales des Provinces unies. Basnage Fol. 489, 490.

(b) This Letter is dated from Sedan, August 15, 1657.
Signed Lomenie.

rize ; but it is likewise true, that the ill Usage they received upon this Occasion, first inspired them with the Design of setting up several Manufactures in *Holland*, which had hitherto been peculiar to *France*. (a)

The Resolution the *States General* shewed on occasion of this Rupture with *France*, proceeded from an utter Ignorance of the secret Treaty concluded between that *Crown* and *Oliver Cromwel*. Had they been in the least apprized of that Alliance, they durst not have entertained a single Thought of War against two such formidable Powers. On the other Hand, the *French King's* Conduct deserves a Reflection. Either the *Cardinal* was fearful, that the *Dutch Trade* being withdrawn, *France* would not be able to continue the War against *Spain* and the *United Provinces* ; or He was doubtful whether the Conditions of the Treaty he had made with *Cromwel* would be performed ; and perhaps this Suspicion was well grounded. I have already said, that the *Protector* entered into this Alliance with *France*, in Compliance with his *personal* Interests, rather than those of the Nation. It was *Cromwel's* greatest Interest to prevent the

(a) See Part 2d. p. 276.

Restoration of the Royal Family. The *Dutch* were more capable of bringing this about than any other foreign Power, because they alone had a Fleet sufficient to transport an Army, and cover a Descent. But the *Protector* was easy on that side: The short but ruinous War between the *Parliament of England* and the *United Provinces* had shewed the *Dutch* how dangerous it would be to provoke a Man who had the whole Force of *Great Britain* in his Power; and besides this, *De Wit*, was at the head of Affairs in *Holland*; the *Prince of Orange* was excluded from the Honours and Authority which had been enjoyed by his Ancestors, and the Friends of that House, from whom *CHARLES II.* could only hope for Assistance, were discountenanced and out of Employment.

FRANCE and *SPAIN*, were the only remaining Powers from whom the *Royal Family* could possibly receive any effectual Assistance; but neither of them was disposed to afford it. The two Kings on the contrary, strove who should flatter *CROMWEL* most. *Mazarine* offered to buy his Friendship at the Price of *Dunkirk*, when it should be taken from the *Spaniards*, and the *Arch-Duke* who governed in the *Netherlands*, promised to besiege *Calais* and restore it to the *English*, if that might engage him to declare for *Spain*. In these

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Clt:

Circumstances, perhaps the wisest Course had been to have sat still, and entertained both Sides in Suspence, under Favour of which the Commerce of *Great Britain* could not fail to have flourished. But the *Protector* was not easy at Home. Some of those who had been the Means of his Elevation, either from Envy or a true *Republican* Principle, were become his Enemies; the Nation was accustomed to *War*, and seemed to take Pleasure in it; all which induced *Cromwel* to break with some of his Neighbours, that he might find Employment abroad, for those busy Spirits, which it left at Home, would certainly have engaged in popular Commotions.

Thus the *Protector*, having resolved a *War* from a Motive of self-Interest, the same principle made him prefer the Alliance of *France* to that of *Spain*; because PHILIP IV, was neither so redoubtable an *Enemy* as LEWIS XIV, nor so capable of serving *Cromwel* in the Quality of a *Friend*. The principal Dominions of *Spain* were situated at a great Distance from *England*; and as to the naval Power of that *Crown*, which had lately been the Terror of the Universe, It was now so reduced, that when in Consequence of the above-mentioned Treaty, Monsieur DE TURENNE formed the Siege of *Dunkirk* with the confederate Troops of *France* and *England*, a
small

small Squadron of *English* Ships served to block up the Port, and prevent the Garrison from receiving any Relief by Sea. In these Circumstances the *Spaniards* run a very great Risk of having their *Flota* fall into the Hands of the *English*, and to this, we may add, that the ill Condition of their Affairs in the *West-Indies*, gave the *Protector* Hopes of annexing *Hispaniola*, to the Dominions of *Great Britain*.

But this weakness of the *Spaniards*, which invited *Cromwel* into the *War*, and seemed to assure Him of Success, was a very strong reason why He ought not to have broke with Them; because He could not continue to depress the *Crown* of *Spain*, without destroying the *Equality* of *Power*, that ought to subsist between the several great States of *Europe*, and elevating *France* to such an exorbitant Degree, as would enable Her to lord it at Pleasure, over all Her Neighbours.

The *Protector* knew this extremely well, and there are those who have affirmed, that before his Death, He had taken a Resolution to reconcile Himself to the Court of *Madrid*. (a) After having acquired *Dunkirk*

(a) Monsieur *Wicquefort*, affirms this to have been the *Protector's* Design; and that one of *Cromwel's* principal Ministers had told him so, in point of Friendship and Confidence. *Wicque Hist. M. S. des Provinces unies, Lib. xi.*

and *Jamaica*, during his Alliance with *France*, He had ~~as~~ mind to possess Himself of *Calais*, by the assistance of the *Spaniards*; but as He did not live to affect this, He left the *French* very great Gainers, by the Measures they had taken with Him.

OLIVER CROMWEL dying in *September* 1658, *Cardinal Mazarine*, thought fit to conclude a Peace with the *Spaniards* in the succeeding Year, by the famous *Pyrenean Treaty*, in consequence of which, *LEWIS XIV.* was soon after married to the *INFANTA*, Daughter of *PHILIP IV.* in whose Right, He afterwards challenged the *Sovereignty* of the *Spanish Netherlands*, tho' in direct Breach of the *Renunciations* made at his Marriage. By the *PYRENEAN TREATY*, *SPAIN* relinquished Her Pretensions to several important Places on the Frontier of *Flanders*, which the *FRENCH* had hitherto held only by Right of Conquest, and this was such an Accession of strength to the *Crown of France*, as enabled Her to give the Law to *Spain* upon all Occurrences; and from this time, the *United Provinces* durst never think of engaging singly in a War with *France*, upon any account whatsoever,

After the Conclusion of the *Pyrenean Treaty*, the *STATES GENERAL*, apprehensive

five of the great Power of the *French Monarchy*, were very earnest with *CARDINAL MAZARINE*, to renew the Alliances that had subsisted between *France* and the *United Provinces*, before the Peace of *Munster*; and to include Them in the *Pyrenean Treaty* as Allies of that *Crown*. This last, the *Cardinal* easily granted; but for the other, He insinuated to Them, that such a Demand would have been more seasonable before the Peace of the *Pyrenees*; however, He appointed Commissioners to treat with the extraordinary *Embassadors*, which the *Republic* had sent to *Paris* upon this Occasion, but died before the Negotiations were brought to any Conclusion.

Upon *Mazarine's* Death, *LEWIS XIV.*, took the Government of his Kingdom into his own Hands, which brought on the Disgrace of *Monsieur Fouquet*, who was succeeded in the Direction of the Finances by *Monsieur Colbert*.

The *Dutch Ministers* at the Court of *France*, were glad of *Fouquet's* Misfortune, because having been the early Patron, if not the Projector of the *French Greenland-Company*, He thought Himself obliged in Honour to protect it, and this has made Him oppose the *Dutch* with a great deal of obstinacy. The *Embassadors* soon found,

however, that *Monsieur Colbert* was not like to be more favourable to Them than his Predecessor. This *Minister* was resolved to do all He could to make the *French Commerce* flourish; and to this Purpose, He was of Opinion, that the Importation of all foreign *Manufactures into France*, should be prohibited, in order to create a greater Consumption of those that were wrought in the Kingdom; vainly believing the french *Manufactures* so necessary to the *Dutch*, and the rest of *Europe*, that They would be obliged to purchase Them with ready Money.

Thus prepossessed, *Colbert* carried Things to so great a length, that the *Dutch Ministers* prepared to leave *France*, and return Home, without concluding any Thing. Their Resolution, however, brought Him to a better Temper, and the *Chancellor Seguier*, *Monsieur de Villeroy*, and *Monsieur de Tellier*, being of opinion, that it would be advantageous to *France*, to renew the Treaties that had formerly subsisted between that *Crown* and the *United Provinces*, the *Embassadors* at last contracted a very important Alliance with *Lewis XIV*, when they least expected it. (a) By this Convention, all former

(a) Traite d' Alliance et de Commerce &c. See Traitez de Paix Tome. iv. p. 35.

Treaties between *France* and the *Republic* were confirmed, and the two Nations promised reciprocally to *guarantee* the Possessions of each other. With respect to *Commerce*, Care was taken to prevent *Pyracies*, by forbidding *Privateers* to search any Vessels that they met with at *Sea*, or use the least Violence to their Commanders. Each Nation had full Liberty to enter the *Sea-Ports* of the other, and to trade freely with all sorts of Commodities, except *Whale-fins* and *Oyl*, which the *Dutch* were excluded from bringing into *France*, during the Term of the Priviledge granted to the *Greenland Company*; and as for the above-mentioned Duty of *fifty Sols per Tun*, It was now to be exacted but once, *when foreign Ships left the Ports of France*, and those that loaded with *Salt* were liable only to the Payment of one Half. (b) But tho' these Terms were a considerable Abatement of Monsieur *Colbert's* Scheme, yet they were still very severe, compared with the Freedom of *Traffick* the *Dutch* had formerly enjoyed with *France*; nor would the *States General* have acquiesced in such Conditions, had they not obtained at the same Time a very con-

(b) Article separè touchant l'Imposition de cinquante sols par Tonneau sur les Navires Etraangers sortant de *France*.

considerable Advantage in a Point of the utmost Importance to the *Republic*, which was the *Guarantee of France, to their Right of fishing for Herrings on the Coast of Great Britain*. The *French* were very loath to engage Themselves in this *Guarantee*. *Colbert* said, It was unreasonable to expect They should undertake to maintain the *Dutch* in the Enjoyment of a Point that was of a very litigious Nature, and liable to be contested with Them. That the KING of ENGLAND could not but take it extremely ill, and therefore it would be best to couch the Clause of the *Guarantee* in general Terms, to avoid giving Offence to a Prince, for whom both the Nations ought to have the utmost Consideration. But the *Dutch Ministers* knew a general *Guarantee* would be of no Service to their Country, in Case *England* should resolve to dispute the Point, and therefore they insisted strenuously and at last obtained, *that their Right to the Herring Fishery should be particularly expressed*. This Treaty could not be signed however, till the Month of April 1662, and the *French King* deferred the Ratification of it some time longer, with a View to engage the *States General*, to include *Dunkirk*, which he had lately purchased of our King *Charles II*, amongst those Places which they were to support Him in the Possession of.

CHARLES

CHARLES II. was restored to the *Crown* of *Great Britain*, in 1660, and might have kept so equal a Ballance between *France* and *Spain*, as would effectually have hindred the former from making further Conquests in the *Netherlands*; and nothing could be more natural, than to expect that Those, who had so just an Abhorrence for the Memory of *Cromwell*, would be the last to fall into his Measures. But unhappily for *Europe*, CHARLES II. had scarce recovered the Throne, when he threw Himself into the Arms of LEWIS XIV, and was more or less influenced by *French* Councils throughout the whole Course of his Reign. I shall be obliged to examine the Conduct of this *Prince*, more particularly in the Sequel. But to return to the Alliance of *France* and the *United Provinces*, the Treaty of 62 being ratified, the *French* published a new Tariff in 1664, which regulated the Duties of Importation in such a Manner, as gave the Merchants of both Nations, a great deal of Reason to hope their Commerce would augment, and be carried on for the Future without Interruption. But a few Years convinced Them of the Vanity of these Hopes. In 1667, the *French Court*, raised the Duties upon foreign Merchandize, in direct Breach of the Treaty

ty of 1662; and in the same Year, LEWIS XIV, executed the Project he had so long entertained, of making Himself Master of the *Spanish Netherlands*. The Rapidity of the *French Conquests in Flanders*, struck a Terror throughout all *Europe*. The KING of FRANCE was accused of aspiring to the *Universal Monarchy*, of breaking the most sacred engagements, and of robbing his Brother-in-Law CHARLES II. of Dominions, to which He had an undoubted Title. In the mean Time, the neighbouring Nations, entered into Measures for checking the Exorbitant Power of *France*, and in 1668, the *Triple League* was concluded between *England*, *Sweden* and the *United Provinces*, which put a Stop to the Arms of *France*, and brought on the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, which saved the remainder of *Flanders*; but it was too soon apparent, that the King of *France* entered into this Treaty with no other Intention than that of renewing the War, to more Advantage. The *French* were of Opinion, that if they could but ruin the *United Provinces*, the *Spanish Netherlands* would fall under their Domination, without any Resistance. With this View, LEWIS XIV, losing the Remembrance of all past Alliances, and having first induced the King of *England* to join with Him in the Attack, and
en-

engaged the *Emperor* in a Neutrality, Invaded the *Republic* of the *United Provinces*, in 1672, and had almost brought It to Destruction, when the *Prince of Orange* being called to the Defence of his Country, acquired the Glory of putting a Stop to the *French Arms*, and of rescuing the Liberties of *Europe*. In 1674 the PARLIAMENT of ENGLAND, jealous of the *French Conquests*, were so importunate with *Charles II.* to break the Measures he had taken in Conjunction with *Lewis XIV.* that they at last obliged him to make a separate Peace with the *Dutch*, and the *King of Spain*, with great Part of the *Empire*, having at the same Time declared in their Favour, This, in some Measure retrieved the Affairs of the *United Provinces*, and brought on the Peace of *Nimeghen*, in 1678. Whoever peruses this Treaty, will find the *French* were very great Gainers by It; the *Spaniards* entirely lost the *Franche Compté*, and had but a weak Barrier left them in *Flanders*: yet this was so far from satisfying LEWIS XIV, that immediately after the Peace, he set up fresh Claims to several of the most considerable Places in *Flanders*, under the Pretence of *Re-unions*, *Dependancies*, and such Kind of Titles, as are only to be made good by those who have the longest Sword. In short, after refusing to settle the Limits

Limits between his own Dominions and those of *Spain*, agreeable to the Treaty of *Nimeghen*, He seized upon the *Dutchy of Luxemburgh*, and obliged the KING of *SPAIN*, to renounce his Title of *Duke of Burgundy*. He observed the same Conduct towards the EMPIRE, by refusing to evacuate several Places agreeable to the Treaties of *Westfalia* and *Nimeghen*; raising Contributions at Pleasure, and obliging the ten Towns of *Alsace*, with the Nobles and *Vassals* of that Country, to swear Allegiance to Him; erecting new Courts of Justice, and forbidding Appeals to the *Imperial Chamber of Spire*. He confiscated the Revenues of the Chapter of *Strasburg*; raised new Fortifications in several Places, dismantled others, and set up Pretentions to the Sovereignty of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, with other Imperial Districts, all which having been complained of in the Diet of the *Empire*, and represented to the *French King*, he was so far from granting Redress, that he invaded the *Palatinate*, surprised *Strasburg* by Treachery, and in order to Grasp the *universal Monarchy*, did all He could either by Fraud or Force, to get the DAUPHIN declared *King of the Romans*.

About the same time, in order to make himself Master of *Italy*, LEWIS XIV, bought *Casal* of the Duke of MANTUA, and endeavoured

voured to trick the *Duke* of SAVOY out of his Dominions, who was then but fourteen Years Old, under Pretence of sending Him to LISBON, where he was to marry the INFANTA, and in her Right to enjoy the Crown of Portugal.

But these Provocations having given Birth to the League of AUGHSTBOURGH, in 1683, between the *Emperor*, the *King* of Sweden, the *States General* of the *United Provinces* and several Circles of the *Empire*, the Direction of whose Forces would be committed to the Care of the *Prince* of Orange, who was indeed the Soul of the *League*; LEWIS XIV, apprehensive of so strong an Opposition, offered the Confederates a twenty Years Truce; which being accepted by them and the *King* of Spain, the *French* remained in Possession of all They had taken from the *Spaniards*, except *Courtray* and *Dixmude*, which they restored to Spain after having slighted their Fortifications.

The Revolution of *England* in 1688, was the Cause of renewing the War, and the Success of it entirely broke the *French King's* Measures. The Events of the War from *Eighty eight* to the Peace of *Reswick*, and of that which succeeded, between *France* and the several Parties of the *second grand Alliance*, are too recent, and too well known to be inserted here. I shall

shall only observe, that the *War* which the *French King* first declared against the *King of Spain* in 1667, was in effect never put an End to till the Peace of *Utrecht*, in 1713. LEWIS XIV, the principal Personage, was still upon the Scene, and prosecuted his old Quarrel with the same Vehemence, and from the same Motives that induced Him to begin it; which were no less than the Reduction of all the *Netherlands*, and the universal Monarchy of *Europe*, which he believed would be a certain Consequence of the other.

I come now to close this Section with remarking, that a *War* between *France* and *Holland*, would be of very great Prejudice to both the Nations, and cannot possibly produce the least Advantage to either, unless we suppose the *French* strong enough to make the entire Conquest of the *United Provinces*; which it is the Business of all *Europe* to prevent. The *French* would do the *Republic* a great deal of Damage, by seizing such Effects as the *Dutch Merchants* might have in *France*, and by obstructing their Trade with *Men of War* and *Privateers*, especially in the *Mediterranean* and the *Levant*, where the *Dutch* could not maintain such a Squadron as would be able to protect their *Commerce*, except at such an Expence, as the *Finances* of the *Republic*, are by no means equal to at present.

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On the other hand, the *French* would be very great Losers, by being deprived of the *Dutch Trade*. I believe I may affirm, that the Merchants of the four *maritime Provinces*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Friezland* and *Groninghen*, take off more than *one Half* of all the *Wine*, and almost all the *Salt* that *France* produces; besides vast Quantities of other Particulars.

(a) But should *War* break out between the two Nations, this *Commerce* must consequently cease. The *Dutch* would supply Themselves with *Wine*, from the Banks of the *Rhine*, and the *Moselle*, as well as from *Portugal* and *Spain*, from whence they might likewise bring what *Salt* they had occasion for; unless we should make it their Interest to take it from *England*, by allowing the *Proprietor* so large a *Drawback* upon exported *Salt*, as may enable Him to sell it as cheap as the *Portuguese* or *Spaniards*; and with Regard to the *Fruits* which the *Dutch* now bring from *France*, *Spain* and *Portugal* afford the very same.

A Rupture with *Holland* would be so very destructive to the Commerce and Revenues of *France*, that there is great Reason to believe that *Crown* will never declare *War* against the

(a) See Part 2d. Page 354.

Republic, unless she thinks herself in a Condition to conquer the *seven Provinces* entirely, which is the only thing that can make her amends for the Loss she would sustain from the *Suspension* of her *Commerce*. But to prevent her ever being in that Condition, the STATES GENERAL are obliged by all Rules of *Policy*, to abstain from every thing that may render either the *Emperor*, *England* or *Spain* less redoubtable to *France* than they are at present; so long as those Powers shall continue in Friendship with the *Republic*.

There is nothing that ought to engage the *States General* in an *offensive Alliance* with *France*, except a *War* with *England* or the *Emperor*. In the first Case, every *Alliance* is to be embraced, and all Means employed to obtain a Peace; and should his *Imperial Majesty* attack the *Republic*, an *Alliance* with *France* is then desirable, insomuch as it is more eligible to be Servants to the *House of Bourbon*, rather than Slaves of the *House of Austria*.





S E C T. III.
OF THE
ALLIANCES
OF THE
STATES GENERAL
WITH
SPAIN.



Y the Treaty of the *Truce*
concluded at the *Hague*, in
1609, PHILIP III. acknow-
ledged the STATES GENRAL
for Sovereigns of a Free Peo-
ple, after the *Crown of Spain*
had treat.d Them as *Rebels* for thirty
Years

Years together. The Liberty of the *Republic* was confirmed, in a more authentick Manner by the Peace of *Munster*, in 1648; and, such is the Vicissitude of human Affairs, in less than thirty Years after this Treaty, the *States General* were become necessary Allies to *Spain*, and WILLIAM III. Prince of Orange, Great Grandson of WILLIAM I. whom PHILIP II. had proscribed as a Traitor, was now the best Support of the *Spanish Monarchy*, and almost the only Prince whom PHILIP IV, could rely upon, for Defence against the exorbitant Power of FRANCE.

The Dominions of SPAIN, having devolved to the *German Branch* of the *House of Austria*, upon the Death of CHARLES II, and the *Spanish Netherlands*, which rendred their *Catholick Majesties* of very great Consequence to the *United Provinces*, having been separated from that *Monarchy*, and given up to the present EMPEROR; the Interest of the *States General* with regard to the *Crown of Spain*, is no longer what It was, before the *Male Line* of CHARLES V, became Extinct, and whilst the Dominions of PHILIP II, remained united upon one and the same Head. I think it unnecessary therefore, to give any Account of the Alliances that have been formed between the

the *States General* and the *Kings of Spain*, from the Peace of *Munster* to the Death of *Charles II.* most of which were made, with no other View, than to preserve the *Spanish Netherlands* from falling into the Hands of *France*; but I will venture to say, that *Spain* is not become weaker by the Separation of the *Austrian Netherlands*, the Defence of which, had for a long Series of Years, quite drained that Kingdom of Soldiers, and Money.

It is the constant Interest of Trading Nations never to undertake *Offensive Wars*, for the sake of *Glory* and *Conquest*. They must remain upon the *Defensive*, and not come to an open Rupture with their Neighbours, but upon the utmost Necessity. This is a settled Maxim with all Countries, that depend on *Traffick*; and the Nature of the Trade between *Holland* and *Spain* obliges the *States General* to a strict Observation of It towards that Monarchy. But as there is no Rule that is not liable to an Exception, there are certainly some Cases in which It would be the Interest of the *United Provinces*, to declare War against *Spain*, notwithstanding all the Inconveniences which the *Republic* must suffer, from a Suspension of her *Commerce*.

Every Body knows that the Force and Grandeur of *Spain* depends on the annual Returns that she receives from her Colonies in the *West-Indies*, and were the Treasures that are brought from those Countries to remain entirely with the *Spaniards*, They would be more than sufficient to render them what They once were, the *most redoubtable Enemies*, and *most Tyranical Allies* in the *Universe*. But the Incapacity of *Spain*, to furnish a Cargo for the Supply of the *West-Indies*, forces Her to share the Profits of that *Commerce* with the other Trading Nations of *Europe*; and thus the Return of the *Galleons*, and the *Flotilla*, is as necessary to the Merchants of *France*, *England*, and *Holland*, as to those of *Cadiz* and *Madrid*.

This *Poverty*, which incapacitates the *Spaniards* to supply the *West-Indies*, arises from Mismanagement in their *European Commerce*. The vast Equipments made by *PHILIP II.* and the ill Success of his Enterprizes, had so totally destroy'd the naval Power of *Spain*, that after the Peace of *Munster*, the *Spaniards* found Themselves obliged to hire *Dutch Vessels*, to carry on their Trade to *America*. The Wars They were afterward engaged in with *France*, the Sums expended in the Preservation of the
Nether-

Netherlands, as well as the *Italian States* dependant on the *Crown of Spain*, the vast Numbers of Men consumed in the Defence of those Countries, from the Peace of *Munster* to the Death of *Charles II*, and the several Calamities which harrassed *Spain* from the Decease of this Prince to the Peace of *Utrecht*, have been so many invincible Impediments to the Revival of their *Navigation*. Since the Treaty of *Utrecht* They have been zealous to restore their maritime Force, but have been mistaken in the Means. If the Money laid out by the COURT of MADRID in the *Sicilian Expedition*, and the Equipment of that Fleet, which was so intirely defeated by our Admiral, my Lord TORRINGTON, in 1718, had been employed for the immediate Encouragement of Navigation, either in the Nature of Loans to particular Merchants, or any other effectual Method for the fitting out *Merchants Ships*, in the several Ports of *Spain*, I believe, that by this Time the *Spaniards* would have been able to carry on their *European Commerce* entirely with their own Ships, and this would in a little Time, enable Them to fit out a Navy and to supply their *West-Indies* without the Assistance of any foreign Nation. But the *Spanish Court* was resolved to have a Fleet at any Price; before they had laid

the necessary Foundation for its Support; that is, before They had extended Their own Navigation, so as to have a constant *Nursery* for *Seamen*, and before They had a sufficient Quantity of *Stores* in their Country, to repair any sudden Loss, without which it is vain to think of keeping up a *Navy*, except, at such an Expence, as even all the Treasures of the *Indies*, would not be equal to.

It is beyond all Question, the Prime Interest of *SPAIN* to extend her *Navigation*; but It is likewise the Interest, of almost all *Europe*, and in particular of the *United Provinces*, to suppress It. And tho' it cannot be denied, that the *Spaniards* have a *natural Right* to trade in every Country of *Europe*, and in all other Parts of the World, from whence They have not excluded Themselves by *Compact*, yet I believe, the *Dutch* would not sit still, and see Them carry on the single Trade of the *BALTICK*, in their own Bottoms; because such a Revolution, in that Branch of *Commerce* only, is sufficient to draw on the Ruin of the *Republic*. Nor will this appear strange, if we consider, how many Ships, and how vast a number of Hands the *Dutch* employ in exchanging the Commodities of *Spain*, with those of *Russia*, *Livonia*, *Sweden* and *Norway*, which would then be destitute of Employment: And It is still a
 Consi-

Consideration of greater Weight, That without the *Bullion* which *Holland* receives annually from *Spain*, It would be impossible for the *DUTCH* to carry on their Commerce with other Nations, where the *Balance of Trade* is against them; as in the Case of *Muscovy*, *Norway*, *England*, *France*, and the *Levant*. I do not think my self guilty of any Exaggeration therefore, when I say, that a *Revolution* in this single Branch of *Commerce*, would probably draw on the ruin of the *Republic*; and consequently the *STATES GENERAL* would hazard a *War*, rather than to submit to it.

Before the Separation of the *Austrian Netherlands*, from the *Spanish Monarchy*, it was the Interest of the *States General*, that *France* should be formidable to *Spain*, whose Dominions being contiguous to *Holland*, the *DUTCH* had reason to fear, that in a Tide of Prosperity, the *Spanish Court* might be tempted to renew their Pretentions to the *Sovereignty* of the *United Provinces*. But those Fears having vanished, upon the Settlement of the *Spanish Dominions* at the Peace of *Utrecht*, it is now become the Interest of *Holland*, that *Spain* should be formidable to *France*, on the *Continent*; and therefore the *States General* will be faithful Allies to His CATHOLICK MAJESTY, so

long as the latter is contented to let the *European Trade* flow in the same Channel, in which it has run for near a Hundred Years; and when the *Spaniards* shall endeavour to break the Course, perhaps it may be the Interest of other Nations, as well as the *Dutch*, to frustrate their attempts.



SECT.



SECT. IV.
OF THE
ALLIANCES
OF THE
STATES GENERAL
WITH
GREAT BRITAIN.



IT would have been extreamly difficult, if not impossible, for the DUTCH to have supported their Revolt against SPAIN, and to have settled their Commonwealth, without the Aid of QUEEN ELIZABETH,

ZABETH. The *States of Holland and Zealand*, offered Her the Sovereignty of their Provinces, which She thought fit to refuse, for Fear of giving PHILIP II, a Pretence to declare War against Her, at a Time when the Power of *Spain* was a Terror to the Universe; but She assisted the *States*, with Men and Money, and at the same Time exacted *cautionary Towns* from Them, as a Security for her *Reimbursement*, whenever They should be in a Condition to Pay. *English Garrisons* were received into the *Brill, Flushing, and Fort Rammekins*, which were at once good Security for our Money, and Pledges for the good Conduct and Fidelity, I had almost said, for the Obedience of the *States*, to *England*.

But a very few Years had passed, after *Queen Elizabeth's* Death, when the *Dutch* began to entertain a Jealousy of the *English*, and sent *Embassadors* to KING JAMES I. with Instructions to procure the Restitution of the Three *cautionary Towns*; upon which, Tho' I will not affirm, that *King James I.* could have detained those Places in Point of Right and Equity, after the *States* had offered to reimburse the Money advanced by *Queen Elizabeth*; yet, I will venture to say, He ought to have done it in Point of Interest and Policy.

But

But this *Prince* having rashly engaged his Word to restore Them, when the Sums advanced by *Queen Elizabeth*, should be Paid; OLDEN BARNEVELT, who knew what Importance They were of, went about the Thing so heartily, that in a little Time the Money was raised, and remitted to *England*, upon which KING JAMES ordered the Places to be evacuated. It is pretended, however, That when the *King* made this Promise, he was of Opinion that the *Dutch* could not possibly raise the Money; and finding Himself deceived, He bore a secret Grudge to BARNEVELT ever after, for having outwitted Him. Be this as it will, 'tis certain, He could not have done a weaker Thing; and I dare affirm, that when He abandoned the ELECTOR PALATINE to the Cruelty of the *House of Austria*, He did not do more Mischief to the *Protestant Cause* in general, than the Interest of *England* received by his giving up the Places before-mentioned. Had those Fortresses remained in the Hands of *Great Britain*, the *Dutch* would not have used us so ill, as They afterwards did in the *East-Indies*, and several other Countries. They must have contented Themselves, with such Advantages in Commerce, as constant Application, joined to a rigid Par-

Parfimony would have given Them over us, but they durst not have had Recourse to Fraud and Violence.

KING CHARLES I. knew the Interest of the Nation, with regard to *foreign Affairs*, much better than his Father, as appears from his Design to Succour *Rochelle*, tho' it was ill executed, and from a Passage in *D'Estrades* Memoirs, which, I think, deserves to be particularly taken Notice of. *Count D'Estrades*, the most dexterous, and most successful Negotiator of his Time, was sent to *England*, by CARDINAL RICHELIEU, in 1637, to engage *Charles I.* in a Neutrality, whilst the *French* and *Dutch* should attack the Maritime Towns of *Flanders*; and in his very first Letter to the *Cardinal* after his Arrival at *London*, He gives him an Account of his Negotiation in the following Manner, (a)

***** ' I was very well received
' by the *King of England*, whom I addressed conformably to the Orders given
' me by your *Eminency*; and represented

(a) See *D'Estrades's Memoires*, Letter to Card. Richlieu dated *Novemb. 24, 1637.*

‘ all the Advantages that would naturally
 ‘ accrue to Him from a strict Alliance
 ‘ with the *King*. That not only his *Maje-*
 ‘ *sty*, but all his Subjects would be very
 ‘ considerable Gainers by His complying
 ‘ with our Demands, having the Sea open to
 ‘ Them, and being at Liberty to furnish
 ‘ all Things necessary for the *Kings* Forces,
 ‘ which could not fail to bring a great
 ‘ deal of Money into *England*. That under
 ‘ Favour of the Neutrality which the
 ‘ King ask’d of Him, all the Commerce
 ‘ would be carried on by *English Shipping*,
 ‘ as well for our Armies as those of *Spain*,
 ‘ and even for all the Towns of the *Low*
 ‘ *Countries*. That your *Eminency* had com-
 ‘ manded me to assure Him, you would
 ‘ contribute all that depended on you to
 ‘ maintain a good *Union* and *Friendship* be-
 ‘ twixt his *Majesty* and the *King* of *France*;
 ‘ and even engage the *King* to give Him
 ‘ any Assistance He might stand in need
 ‘ of, from the Attempts of such of his
 ‘ Subjects, as might have ill Intentions a-
 ‘ gainst his Person.

‘ He answered me, That He would do
 ‘ every Thing in his Power to shew the
 ‘ *King* how much He desired his *Friend-*
 ‘ *ship*, provided that what his *Majesty* re-
 ‘ quired of Him, was not prejudicial to his
 Honour,

' *Honour, his Interest, or his Kingdom;*
 ' which, he said, must certainly be the Case,
 ' if he permitted either the King or the States
 ' to attack the Maritime Places on the Coast
 ' of Flanders. That in Order to succour
 ' Them, He kept a Fleet in the Downs, fit
 ' for Action, with fifteen thousand Men, ready
 ' to Land in Flanders in case of Need.
 ' That He thanked your *Eminency* for your
 ' Offers and Civilities; that He wanted no
 ' Assistance to chastise such of his Subjects
 ' as should fail of their Duty, *Their Pun-*
 ' *ishment being ascertained by his own Autho-*
 ' *rity, and the Laws of England.*

An *Englishman* could not have wished a
 a nobler Answer; and accordingly, upon
 its being transmitted into *France*, RICH-
 LIEU ordered *Monsieur D'Estrades* out of
England, by the very next Post, telling
 Him at the same Time, that before the
 Year came about, the KING of GREAT
 BRITAIN should repent his Stiffness.

The Troubles that ensued in *Great Bri-*
tain, during the rest of this unhappy Reign,
 did not give the Court Leave to attend to any
 Thing that passed in the *United Provinces*;
 wherefore, I shall stay no longer than to
 observe, that had not JAMES I. parted
 with the *Cautionary Towns*, 'Tis probable
 They would have afforded his Son a safe
 Retreat,

Retreat, in his Extremity; which might possibly have given a Turn to the Affairs of *England*, and have produced an Accommodation.

In 1649, the *Parliament* of *England*, apprehensive that CHARLES II. who then resided at the *Hague*, might have Credit enough, by Virtue of his Alliance with the *House* of *Orange*, to engage the *States General* in Measures for revenging the tragical Death of his Father, thought fit to send *Ministers* to the *Hague*, with Proposals of an Alliance between the two *Republicks*. But the *Prince* of *Orange* was then so powerful in *Holland*, that the *English Ministers* could not obtain so much as a public Audience of the *States General*. One of Them, *Doctor Dorislaus*, was Assassinated at the *Hague* by the *Royalists*, and the other was forced to return, without having done any Thing in his Negotiation.

Those who were then at the Head of Affairs in *England*, did not want either Resolution or Inclination to punish the Injury They had received in the Person of *Dorislaus*; but Things not being yet ripe for a Quarrel with the *States General*, the Affront was smothered; and in 1651 the *Parliament* sent a celebrated Embassy
to

to the *Hague*, with Offers of an Alliance *Defensive* and *Offensive* with the *Republic*. The Death of WILLIAM II, *Prince of Orange*, which happened in the preceding Year, encouraged the *English* to believe their *Ministers* would now meet with a better Reception, than the *Dutch* had given Them in 1649. And, indeed, They were admitted to a public Audience of the STATES GENERAL, and *Commissioners* were nominated to treat with Them, but the Friends of the *House of Orange*, were still so powerful in the *General Assembly*, that notwithstanding all the Endeavours of the *Province of Holland*, which dreaded a Rupture with *England* on Account of her Commerce, the Negotiations were unsuccessful, and the *Embassadors* returned to *England*, without concluding any Thing.

MONSIEUR DE WIT inveighs bitterly against the Friends of the *House of Orange*, for their Behaviour on this Occasion. (a) He affirms, the *English Ministers* offered to renew the *Treaty of Intercourse* concluded in the Year 1495, between HENRY VII, and PHILIP Duke of *Burgundy*, Count of

(a) See *De Wit's Memoires*, Part 3, Page 308.

Holland,

Holland, &c. by which the *Dutch* would have established their Commerce with *England*, upon a very advantageous Footing, and have procured an authentic Act for the Liberty of their Herring Fishery upon the Coast of Great Britain. (a) But with all the Respect that is due to the Authority of *Monsieur de Wit*, there is great Reason to believe, that not even the most zealous Friends of the *House of Orange*, would have been so much byassed by their Respect or Affection for the *Royal Family of England*, as to have refused a Treaty, so very advantageous to their Country. And indeed, it appears by the Account *Monsieur Basnage* has given Us of this Negotiation, that the *English Ministers* did not offer to renew the above-mentioned Treaty.

My Lord *St. John*, at his public Audience, told the *States General*, ' That the ' Alteration of Government which had happened to their State in the foregoing Cen-

(a) *Piscatores cujuscunque Conditionis erunt, poterunt ubique ire, Navigare per Mare, secure piscari absque aliquo Impedimento, Licentia, seu salvo Conductu. See the Treaty of Peace between Henry VII, and Philip Duke of Burgundy, &c. Traitez de Paix, Tome. 1, p. 784.*

' tury, had engaged the *English* to assist
 ' Them; and that *England* having now
 ' undergone a Revolution almost Parrallel
 ' to their Own, it was to be hoped, that
 ' the *States*, instead of declaring Them-
 ' selves Enemies to the *new Commonwealth*,
 ' would unite with Her in the strictest
 ' Manner.' And He added, ' That the
 ' two *Republics*, situated, as it were, with-
 ' in sight of one Another, might hold the
 ' Ballance of *Europe*, by joyning their
 ' Forces, whereas, a Misunderstanding
 ' would be fatal, both to their *Commerce*
 ' and *Liberty*, whose Foundations were, as
 ' yet, but ill established.' This was the
 Substance of what the *Embassadors* said in
 their Harrangue, and *Monsieur Basnage*
 tells us plainly, that the Commissioners
 nominated by the *States General*, to treat
 with the *English*, were astonish'd to find
 that the *Embassadors* confined Themselves
 to general Propositions, and that They did
 little more, than put into Writing what
 They had spoken before, at their *public*
Audience. (a) *Basnage* says, The *Dutch* dis-

(a) See *Basnage*, *Annales des Provinces Unies*, Fol.
216.

covered at their first Conference with the *English Ministers*, that CROMWEL had projected the *Union* of the two *Republicks*, as he afterwards explained It, under the Title of *Coalition*; which I have already taken Notice of, and shall examine again in the Sequel. (a) But the *Dutch Commissioners* who had no Thoughts of so strict an engagement, answered in their Turn, with loose and general Promises, of good Intelligence and Friendship; at which the *English Ministers* were so scandalised, upon a Presumption, that the Advances They had made on the Part of *England*, would have been received with more Gratitude, that They resolved to return Home, making the Insults they had received from the ROYALISTS who resided at the *Hague*, a Pretext for demanding their *Audiance*, of *Leave*. And now it was, that the *Dutch* desired in Vain, to make the old Treaty between HENRY VII, and the DUKE of BURGUNDY, the Foundation of a new one. (b) The *Embassadors* declared their Com-

(a) See Part I. Page 234.

(b) On eut beau leur proposer le Traite d' Entrecours, fait par Philippe, Duc de Bourgogne, Comte de Hollande, &c. avec Henri VII, Roi d' Angleterre pour servir

Commission expired, and that they had Orders to be gone; but some Days after, They demanded another Conference, under the Pretence of having received fresh Instructions from the *Parliament*; at which, They affected to accept of the above-mentioned Treaty, for the *Basis* of their Negotiation, but their Proposals were clogged with so many Difficulties, that it was impossible to bring the Conferences to a good Issue; and accordingly They returned to *London*, without having concluded one single Point.

I have been the more particular in this Account, as It contains two very important Articles. The *first*, is an unquestionable Proof, that *John De Wit*, the greatest *Statesman* a-

de Fondement & de Base a un nouveau Project. Ils declarerent que leur Commission etoit expiree & qu' Ils avoient Ordre de partir. Ils ne laisserent pas de demander quelque Temps apres une Conference sur la nouvelle Permission, qu' Ils disoient avoir obtenu du Parlement; Ils seignirent d'accepter le Traite d'entrecours & de batir sur le meme principe qu' Ils avoient rejette. Mais Ils firent couler dans leurs Projects, 1. La Necessite de refuser le Secours & la Retraite aux Rebelles & aux Ennemis de la Republique, c'est a dire au Roi d' Angleterre & a toute la maison royale. 2. D'assister le Parlement contre tous ses Ennemis. 3. Enfin, de defendre a la Princesse Royale D' Orange, de rendre a sa Famille les Devoirs, & les Secours, que la Nature & l'Amitie exigeoient d' Elle. *Basnage Annales des Provinces unies*, Fol. 216.

mongst

mongst the *Dutch*, thought the *Revival* of the Treaty between *Henry VII.*, and the *Duke of Burgundy*, necessary for assuring the Right of his Conntrymen to the *Herring Fishery*. And the *second*, is a fair Avowal, of the *Historian* of the *States General*, that this Treaty was not renewed, and that the Proposition of building a new *Alliance* upon It, did not come from the *English*, as *De Wit* would Insinuate.

Upon the Return of the *Embassadors* to *London*, the *PARLIAMENT*, irritated against the *Dutch*, passed an *ACT* for the *Augmentation of Navigation and Commerce*, by which all foreign Vessels were forbid to bring any Commodities into *England*, except such as were of the proper Growth of the Country to which they belonged; which was in Effect to prohibit the *Dutch Commerce*, a great Part of which, then consisted, as it doth still, in a Transport of foreign Commodities. Such a *Act* could not but be ill received in *Holland*, and accordingly, several Members amongst the *States General*, were of Opinion, that They ought immediately to declare *War* against the *Parliament*; but the Loss of the Battle at *Worcester*, having entirely defeated the Hopes of the Royalists in *England*, and establish'd the Authority of the *Parliament*, the Ma-

jority of the *States General* thought It more Prudent to attempt a Reconciliation by gentle Methods.

Agreeable to This, *Embassadors* were sent to *London*, who arrived there on *Christmas Day 1651*, and were received with a great deal of Civility. The *PARLIAMENT* gave Them Audience as often as They demanded It, and heard all their Complaints; but instead of Satisfaction, the *English* complained in their Turn of the Assassination of *Dorislaus*, and of the Losses the Nation had sustained from the *Dutch Practices*, in Points of Trade, both in *Muscovy*, *Greenland*, and the *East-Indies*; particularly at *Amboina* and *Banda*. They demanded that all *Ships of War* belonging to the *States General* should strike their Colours to the *English* upon all Occurrences, and that not as a mere Civility, done to a superior Nation, but as a *Respect* and *Hommage* due to the Masters of the Ocean; and upon this Principle, the *English* claimed the sole Right of fitting out *Fleets*, of clearing the Sea of *Pirates*, and of searching all Vessels, whether *Men of War* or *Merchantmen*, in order to prevent a *contraband Trade*, reserving to Themselves, the faculty of declaring what Species of Goods should be esteemed *contraband*, amongst which, They comprehended

hended *Corn*, the Transport of which, They had a Mind to prevent. They demanded, by way of *Tribute*, the *tenth Herring* of all those that the *Dutch* should take on the Coasts of *Great Britain*: They required likewise the entire Payment of the Money *QUEEN ELIZABETH* had lent the *States General*, affirming that *KING JAMES I.* had been imposed upon in that Particular: And lastly, They demanded that Reparation should be made for the Damages the *English* had sustained from the *Dutch* in the *East-Indies*, since the Year 1622, which were estimated at above *two Millions Sterling* the Interest of which amounted to more than the Principal.

It is not consistent with the Conciseness of this Tract, to set down all that the *Dutch Historians* affirm their *Embassadors* to have said in Opposition to these several Pretensions. But upon the whole, The *Dutch* observed, that *Peace* and *Commerce* could not possibly subsist between the two Nations, if the *English* continued their *Piracies*; (a)

(a) 'Twas thus They filed the Enterprizes of two Privateers, to whom the Parliament had granted Letters of Reprisal, for Damages formerly sustained by the *Dutch*.

and They affirmed the *Hollanders* had already lost *thirty Ships* for which no Satisfaction could be obtained, upon their repeated Complaints. The *EMBASSADORS* likewise, demanded the Repeal of the *Act* for the *Augmentation of Navigation and Commerce*, by way of *Preliminary*. But the *English* would recede from none of their Pretentions. In short, *CROMWEL* was become Master of Affairs, and had resolved a *War* with the *Dutch*. The *STATES GENERAL* endeavoured all They could in Honour, to prevent It, and with that View, *Monfieur Nieuport*, Receiver General of North *Holland*, was dispatched into *England*, where he had a great many Friends; But the *STATES* at the same Time directed their *Embassadors* to oppose the Pretentions of *England* to the *Dominion* of the *SEA*. They also sent Orders to their *Admiral*, the celebrated *TROMP*, not to suffer the *English* to search their *Merchantmen* upon any Pretext whatever, and that He might be able to execute their Commands, It was resolved in *Holland*, to fit out a Fleet of one hundred and fifty Sail of *Ships*; Notice of which, was given by the *Dutch Ministers* to the several neighbouring *Courts*, and particularly to the *PARLIAMENT* of *ENGLAND*, who were told, that their *High Mightinesses*

nesses Fleet was equipped with no other Design, than to keep the *Sea* clear of *Py-rates*, to protect the *Navigation* and *Com-merce* of their Subjects, and to prevent a *Rupture* between the two Nations, by searching and taking their *Merchantmen*. This tacit Reproach animated the *Parliament*, who affirmed that the *Empire* of the *Sea* belonged to *England*, and that They would not fail to maintain It. In short, *Hostilities* were soon after commenced upon the Subject of the *Flag*. *Commadore Young*, having met with a *Dutch Fleet* of *Merchant Ships*, under the Convoy of a Squadron of their *Men of War*, commanded by a *Vice Admiral*, the *English Officer* required the *Dutch* to lower their *Colours*, which being refused, a sharp Engagement ensued, and the *Dutch Admiral* was obliged at last to strike his *Flag*. This Action was soon followed by another of more Importance, between the famous *BLAKE* and *Admiral TROMP*, the Relation of which, may be seen in *Lord Clarendon*, and the other Writers of that Age. (a) My Design does not permit me to relate the Particulars of the *War*, which

(a) This Engagement was fought between *Dover* and *Calais*, in *May*, 1652,

was prosecuted with such Vigour, that in the Compass of eighteen Months, there was no less than *six set Engagements, between the grand Fleets of England and Holland*, besides other Fights and Skirmishes, of small Squadrons, and single Ships.

It is remarkable, That during the Course of this short but ruinous War, the *States General*, or at least, the *States of Holland*, hardly ever discontinued their *Negotiations*, in Order to obtain a *Peace*; and indeed, It is no Wonder They were weary of a Quarrel which exhausted their *Treasury*, and destroyed their *Commerce*.

In the Beginning of the Year 1653, MONSIEUR DE WIT was chosen *Grand Pensionary of Holland*, and distinguished his Enterance upon that Ministry by a Strain of a very extraordinary Nature. The STATES of HOLLAND being assembled, the *Pensionary* exacted an Oath of *Secrecy* from all the Members of that Assembly, and then proposed, that *Holland* should enter into a separate Negotiation with the *Parliament of England*, without the Knowledge or Participation of the other *Provinces*; and having carried his Proposition, the *Provincial States of Holland*, wrote privately to the *Parliament*, and represented in a pathetick Manner the Inconveniencies that each Nation suffered

suffered by a Continuance of the War. DE WIT, was encouraged to take this Step, from an Information He had received of a Misunderstanding between *Oliver Cromwel* and the *Parliament*, who being jealous of their *General*, would be apt to improve this Overture of Peace, in Order to retrench his Power. But *Cromwel*, who had penetrated *De Wit's* Intention, and was very well acquainted with the Temper of Those He had to do with at Home, was no sooner Master of the *Letter*, the *Secret* of which had been so religiously kept in *Holland*, than he ordered It to be printed and published, with a very insulting Title, (a) representing the *Dutch* as a People *already conquered*; in which he had two Designs, *first*, to sow *Dissention* between *Holland* and the other *Provinces*; and *secondly*, to engage the *English Nation* to desire the continuance of the *War*, which was absolutely necessary for Him, at a Time when He had resolved the Reduction of the *Parliament*, and consequently stood in more need of his Army than ever.

The PARLIAMENT, on the other Hand, surprized at *Cromwel's* Conduct, was in good

(a) The Title was, *The thrice humble Supplication of the States of Holland, who petition the Parliament for Peace.*

Earnest for *Peace*, and not only answered the *Letter* sent Them by the *Province* of *Holland*, but wrote another to the STATES GENERAL, who were surprized to discover from their *Enemy's* Letter, that the *Province* of *HOLLAND*, had entered into a Negotiation without their Concurrence. GRONINGHEN complained loudly against the *States* of *Holland*, for infringing the UNION, and the other *Provinces* murmured in Proportion to their Inclinations for the House of ORANGE, and the KING of ENGLAND. In the *Parliament's* Letter to the *States General*, They attributed the War to the precipitate Retreat of *Monsieur PAUW*, *Embassador Extraordinary* from their *High Mightinesses* to the *Parliament*; but They continued to propose the same Conditions of *Peace*, that *Pauw* had rejected. The *States* of *Holland* were firm in their Intentions to treat, and proposed that all Hostilities should immediately cease, and be suspended, 'till the *Peace* could be made. But all that the *States General* could be brought to resolve, after very long Debates, was to answer the *Parliament's* Letter, expressing their Desire to treat in a *Neutral Place*, and their Resolutions to send *Plenipotentiaries* thither when It should be agreed on.

What

What Effect this Letter would have had in *England*, is uncertain; for whilst the *States General* were debating at the *Hague*, CROMWEL had turned the *Parliament* out of Doors, and was absolute Master of the Administration. The *Dutch* were in Hopes, however, of reaping some notable Advantage from the intestine Divisions of the *English*, but were disappointed in their Expectations; for whilst *Cromwel* made Himself absolute at Home, He took proper Measures to have a *Fleet*, able to support the Glory of his Arms, and render the Nation formidable to Her Enemies. In the mean Time, to amuse the *States General*, CROMWEL answered the Letter They had wrote to the *Parliament*, professing his Inclinations for the Peace, and his Readiness to Treat in a *Neutral Place*; but He would not deviate from the Plan that had been exhibited to *Monfieur Pauw*, in the foregoing Year. The *States General* on the Contrary, desired to reassume the Project that had been concerted at the *Hague* in 1651, but after some warm Debates in their Assembly, the particular Interest of the *Province of Holland* prevailed, and it was resolved to send *Embassadors* to *London*, with full Powers to treat and conclude the Peace.

During

During these Transactions MONK, had fought the *Dutch Fleet*, and defeated Them in two subsequent Engagements, which so alarmed the *States of Holland*, that They hurried *Monfieur Van Beverning* into *England*, without his Colleagues, whose Equipages were not ready. *Van Beverning* found CROMWEL at the Head of a *Council of State*, composed of the principal Officers of the *Army*, to whom he proposed a Treaty, upon the Plan that had been projected at the *Hague*, in 1651; but *Cromwel* answered him fiercely, that He would not enter into any Negotiation, except under two Conditions: The *first*, That Satisfaction should be made for the Insults offered by *Tromp* to the *English Flag*: And *secondly*, That there should be no Suspension of Arms 'till the Treaty was concluded. But after the Arrival of the other *Embassadors*, CROMWEL, as I have already observed, (a) explained Himself more fully, declaring his Jealousy of the *Dutch Commerce*, and his Opinion that there could never be, a sure and lasting Peace between the two Nations, 'till there

(a) See Part I. Page 234.

should

should be a COALITION of Interests; by uniting Them under one and the same Government.

It is no Wonder, the *Dutch Embassadors* were astonished at so extraordinary a Proposition; which is indeed, from its Impracticableness, a convincing Proof, that how well soever *Cromwel* might understand the Affairs of *England*, yet that He was entirely ignorant of the *interior methods of Government* in the *United Provinces*, as well as of the particular *Disposition and Intentions* of the several *Regents* in the *Province of Holland*.

Had CROMWEL consider'd, that all those who compose the Body of the STATES GENERAL, as well as the several Assemblies of the PROVINCIAL STATES; that every BURGO-MASTER, and I had almost said every Member of the several Town-Councils, were really so many Sovereigns; and that They had already conceived the Intention of perpetuating their several Dignities in their own Families; had He known that the Regents of the single Town of Amsterdam had many Thousands of Posts in their Disposal, and that the Revenue of that one City, was not less in His Time than 1600000 Pounds Sterling per Annum, all of It submitted to the Management of the same REGENTS, He would have

have immediately concluded It unreasonable, to expect so great a *Disinterestedness* in the Persons concerned, as would be necessary to induce Them to abandon such extraordinary *Priviledges*, and so great a Degree of Power, *where no Equivalent could be offered Them.*

But besides the *Personal* Interest of the *Regents*, That of the *State* in General, was indeed equally repugnant to the projected *Coalition*; and accordingly the *Dutch Embassadors* represented it as a Thing, utterly impracticable, But the Persons they had to do with, were not to be easily persuaded. After having dethroned their *King*, and surmounted innumerable Obstacles, It is no wonder if they thought themselves able to give Law to the *Dutch*, especially after having defeated Them in several Bloody Engagements. Agreeable to this, CROMWEL was so firm in his Demand of the *Union*, that the *Ambassadors* thought fit to detach two of their Body to consult their Principals in *Holland*, and receive fresh Instructions for their Conduct in a Point of so delicate a Nature.

I have already taken Notice that during the absence of these *Ambassadors*, a bloody Engagement was fought between the *English* and *Dutch Fleets*, in which *Admiral Tromp*
was

was kill'd, and *Monk* acquired immortal Honour. (a) This was the last Act of Hostility between the two Nations, during the Time of CROMWEL; for though the *Embassadors* returned with exprefs Orders to reject the *Union* of the two *Republicks*, yet there was an Expedient soon found, that paved the Way to a Treaty. This was the *Exclusion* of the *Prince of Orange* from the *Stadtholdership* of the *Province of Holland*, the History of which the Reader will remember to have read in the first Part of this Book, to which I refer Him, and will stay no longer, than to observe that CROMWEL'S Acceptation of the *Exclusion* of the young *Prince of Orange*, in Lieu of the *Coalition*, is an undeniable Proof, that he demanded the Latter, from a Motive of self Interest; because, I dare affirm, it could not be the Interest of the Nation to abolish the Office of *Stadtholder*. On the other Hand, the Manner in which the Business of the *Exclusion* was conducted in *Holland*, the profound Mistry that was made of It, and the future Conduct of *Monfieur De Wit* towards the *House of Orange*, when Crom-

(a) See Part 1, Page 239.

wel was no more, hath made It very probable that *De Wit* Himself, encouraged the *Protector* to insist upon that Demand, and it may be, that He suggested it to Him.

Be this as it will, the *Province of Holland* having engaged by a separate Article, never to have a *Stadtholder*, the *Peace* was concluded at *Westminster*, on the 5th of *April 1654* (a) the principal Conditions of which were as follow, That neither of the two *Republicks* should give Reception, Succour, Protection, or Assistance, to the *Enemies*, or rebellious Subjects of the other; that the Freedom of *Navigation* and *Commerce* should be restored between the two Nations, who obliged Themselves, reciprocally, to defend each other's Ships in case they were attack'd by any other Power; but the Superiority of the *Flag* was entirely yielded to *England*, and the *Dutch Men of War* were to strike their Colours to the *English*, upon all Occasions. The *Republic* of the *United Provinces*, obliged Herself to prosecute and punish the Authors of the *Massacre of Amboina*, if They were yet alive; and to send Commissioners to *London*, to adjust the Disputes of the several *India Companies* of both Nations, and to settle the Amount of the Losses sustained by

(a) See the Treaty at large, *Traitez de Paix*, Tom, 3. p. 647
the

the *English* in the *East-Indies*, *Brazil*, *Muscovy*, and *Greenland*, &c. that *Restitution* might be made by the *States General*; and if the *Commissioners* appointed by the two Nations should not be able to adjust the Points in dispute, then the Decision of Them was to be left to the *Swiss Cantons*, who were pitched upon for *Arbitrators*. The KING of DENMARK, after a great deal of Difficulty on the Part of *Cromwel*, was included in the Treaty as an *Ally* of *Holland*, the *States General* engaging to make good the Losses that the *English Merchants* had sustained by the Seizure that Prince had made of their Ships in the Port of *Copenhagen*. Lastly, In order to render the *Alliance* firm and lasting, the *States General* promised not to confer the supream Command of their Forces, either by *Sea* or *Land*, upon any Person that would not oblige Himself by *Oath* to an exact Observation of the Treaty.

Thus the Peace was made between the two Nations, which occasioned an extream Joy in the *United Provinces*; insomuch, that several Medals were struck to perpetuate the Memory of an Event so extremely Important to the *Republic*. That of *Amsterdam*, represented *Peace* and *Justice* united together and on Foot, with the se-

veral Symbols proper to each Goddess ; and in the Margin were these Words,

Hæc mihi erunt Artes.

On the Reverse was the following Inscription,

*Quod sælix faustumque sit,
Post atrox Bellum,
Quod inter
Anglicæ Belgicæque Reipublicæ Rectores
Bis frustra tentatis Pacis
Conditionibus, Anno CIOICLII exarsit,
In Quo Maximis
Utrunque Classibus sex septentrionali,
Duo Mediterraneo Mari
Pugnata sunt cruenta Prælia,
Dei optimi maximi Beneficio, Auspiciis
Olivarii Magnæ Britannicæ Protectoris,
Fæderati Belgii Ordinum,
Pax cum antiquo Fædere restituta,
Cujus Optimæ,
Rerum in memoriam
Sempiternam Senatus Populusque
Amstelodamensis
Hoc Monumentum fieri curarunt.*

But It is much easier to stipulate the Conditions of an Alliance than to procure the Execution of Them. The STATES
GENERAL

GENERAL were extremely dissatisfied with the Conduct of *Holland*, and the Exclusion of the PRINCE of ORANGE was so very warmly contested, even among the *States* of that *Province*, that if any Man less able than *Monsieur De Wit*, had been at the Head of the Administration, there is great Reason to believe, *Holland* would not have ratified the Article of the Exclusion. But the Dread They were under of the *English Fleet*, and the total Destruction of their *Commerce*, having at last determined that *Province*, She, by adhering firmly to her own Resolutions, brought over the *States General*; in Consequence of which, the Treaty was ratified and executed in all its Points. The *States* began with paying *nine hundred and fourscore Thousand Florins* for their *Ally* the KING of DENMARK, by Way of Compensation to the *English Merchants*, for the Ships that had been seized by that *Prince*, at the opening of the War. The next Difficulty was to regulate and to satisfy the Losses sustained by the *English* in the *East-Indies*, in Order to which, the *Dutch* complied very exactly with the Terms of the Treaty, and sent Commissioners into *England* within the limited Time, who agreed to restore the *Isle of Poleron*, to make Satisfaction to the Heirs.

and Executors of Those who had been Mas-
sacred at *Amboina*, and to furnish *nine hun-*
dred thousand Livres, at two Payments, by
Way of Composition, for all the Pretentions
that *England* might hitherto have against
Them. But notwithstanding all This, CROM-
WEL continued to search their Merchant
Ships, and disturb their *Herring Fishery*. In
Short the *Protector* knew the Superiority of
the *English* over the *Dutch*, and in the Year
before He died, which was in 1658, He con-
tracted the Secret Alliance with LEWIS XIV,
which I have already mentioned under the
Title of *Secretum & inviolabile Fædus*, in
which He engaged Himself to make War
upon *Spain*, and the *United Provinces*, in
Conjunction with *France*, and to divide with
that *Crown* the Conquests that should be
made in the *Netherlands*. But whether this
was his real Intention, or whether, as *Mon-*
sieur Wicquesfort insinuates, He had resolved
a little before his Death, to abandon *France*,
and embrace the Offers of *Spain*, is one
of those Doubts to which History is lia-
ble, and which can never be cleared up.

Upon CROMWEL'S Death, the above-
mentioned Treaty remained in Force, and
continued so, 'till after the Restauration,
that a new Alliance was made between
the *States General* and CHARLES II. In
the

the mean Time, RICHARD CROMWEL succeeded his Father in the *Protectorship*; and there cannot be a more convincing Proof of the strong Apprehensions the *Dutch* entertained of OLIVER CROMWEL and the Force of the *English Nation*, than the Complaisance They shewed to his Son Richard, even after he had proved Himself unable to sustain that Building his Father had erected. The *East-India Company* of *Holland*, having seized and confiscated some *English Ships* at *Bantam*, RICHARD ordered his *Resident Downing* to complain of It at the *Hague*, upon which *Downing* having conferred with *Monfieur De Wit*, and settled the Value of the Ships confiscated, at six hundred thousand *Florins*, the *States General*, in their *Legislative Capacity*, commanded their *East-India Company*, to pay that Sum to the Proprietors. (a) A Justice so much the more remarkable, as the Power of that Company is so excessive in the *United Provinces*, that She may well be considered as an overgrown Member, entirely disproportioned to the Body.

(a) *Annales des Provinces Unies*, par *Basnage*, Fol. 475.

CHARLES II, was at *Brussels*, when MONK began to pave the Way for his Restauration, from whence he removed to *Breda* at the Desire of that General, and when Things were ripe for His coming into *England*, his Majesty resolved to take the *Hague* in his Way, where He paid a Visit both to the STATES GENERAL, and the STATES of HOLLAND, in their several Assemblies; who omitted no Honours that might serve to perswade the King of their present Respect and Attachment, or efface from his Memory the hard Treatment He had formerly received from Them.

It is not my Business to relate the several Ceremonies that passed on this Occasion. The KING being arrived at the *Hague*, the STATES GENERAL went to compliment Him in a Body, and Monsieur De Wit, who was the Mouth of the Republic, ended his Harrangue with desiring his Majesty to honour the States General with his Good Will, and to issue his Orders for negotiating an Alliance that might be the most intimate, the strongest, and the most important of either State. In answer to which, the KING assured the States of his Resolution to give Them the strongest Proofs of his Esteem and Affection upon all Occa-

Occasions, that He would contract a very close *Alliance* with their HIGH MIGHTINESSES, and that He should envy any other *Prince*, whose *Friendship* They might set a greater Value upon than His own.

The KING embarked for *England* in June 1660, and tho' the *States General* had already given Him the utmost marks of Respect and Friendship, yet They resolved to send *Embassadors* extraordinary, to the Court of *Great Britain*, who were to renew their Professions, and conclude a fresh Treaty of *Commerce* and *Alliance*. The EMBASSADORS received the same Compliments at *London*, which the *King* had before made to Their Masters at the *Hague*; but when They gave an Account of their Reception, They represented at the same Time, that their Negotiation was like to be long and difficult, and the Success of It very uncertain; because the *Commissioners* appointed to treat with Them, had renewed all the *Difficulties* and *Objections* that had been made in CROMWEL'S Time, before the opening of the War; and that They persisted in their Resolution to conclude an *Alliance*, in which the Advantage would be entirely on the *King's* Side, previously to the Treaty of
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Commerce, which was demanded on the Part of the *States General*.

The Truth is, The Negotiation could not but be extremely difficult; for it was equally Inconsistent with the Honour of CHARLES II, to suffer the *Alliance* formerly made by CROMWEL, to subsist any longer, or, to contract a new One without improving, or at least without preserving the same Advantages and Pretensions which *Cromwel* had done, in all their Extent. But that which was still more likely to ruin their Negotiation, was, his Majesty's Resentment for the ill Usage He had received from Them during his Exile: Notwithstanding all the Compliments that had passed on either Side at the *Hague*, the *King* could never forgive the *States* the Complaisance They had shewn for *Cromwel*, and their cruel and ungrateful Treatment of the young *Prince of Orange* and the *Princess* his Mother, who was his Majesty's Sister, and extremely dear to Him: to which we may add, That the DUKE of YORK, who had a very great Influence over his Brother, was an utter Enemy to the *Dutch*; He remembered the Insults He had received at the *Hague*, and long'd to be revenged.

It

It is no wonder therefore, that the *Embassadors* foresaw the Difficulties They were like to meet with in their Negotiation; and if They at last succeeded, it must be certainly attributed to the Necessity of the Times, and the unsetled State of Affairs in *England*, rather than any disposition in the Court to keep Measures with the *States General*. CHARLES II, had scarce regained the Throne, when he gave his Subjects the utmost Cause of Discontent, by the Sale of DUNKIRK to the KING of FRANCE; a Bargain, in its own Nature very inglorious for the *Prince*, as well as detrimental to the People, but doubly so, from the Motives that induced the *King* to conclude It, which were the Desire of having a little ready Money, to throw away as he thought fit, and the Assurances He received from *France* of a powerful Protection against any Attempts of his Subjects. The ill Blood that this occasioned, added to the Disputes that reigned in *England*, concerning the *Act of Uniformity*, seemed to threaten an Insurrection on the Part of those who retained a great deal of the old Leaven, and this forced the King, very much against his Inclinations, to enter into a Treaty with the *States General* in September 1662, containing little more than a Renewal of that

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concluded with *Cromwel* some Years before, after It had been executed in every Point, except the Restitution of the *Isle of Poleron*, which the *States* now gave up with a great deal of Alacrity, by Way of Composition for all other Pretensions, which the *English* might have upon Them, for any Losses sustained in the *East-Indies* before the Year 1659. (a) The Article which did the most Honour to *England*, was that of the FLAG, in which the *Dutch* consented to strike their Colours to the *English*; but because this Article was couched in general Terms, and It was not said, that a *Fleet* or *Squadron* belonging to their *High Mightinesses*, should strike to a *Pleasure-boat*, a *Pacquet*, a *Tatcht*, or a *single Man of War*, belonging to the *King of England*; This gave Room to Chicane, and was afterwards the Pretext of a War between the two Nations.

In 1693 CHARLES II, wrote a Letter to the STATES of HOLLAND, in which He told Them, that as it was impossible for Him, who was absent, and at that Distance, to

(a) See the Treaty at large, *Traitez de Paix*, Tome IV. Page 46.

take sufficient Care of the Education of his Nephew, the young *Prince of Orange*, He desired Them to perform that Office conjointly with the *Princess Dowager*; and His Majesty added, that as his Request was an Effect of the great Confidence He placed in Them, their Compliance would be extremely agreeable to Him. (a) But *Monsieur De Wit*, whom the *King* had a Mind to gain by Marks of Confidence, and who was resolved not to be gained, was extremely disconcerted by this Letter; and having consulted his particular Friend, the Count *D'Estrades*, who was then the *French King's Ambassador in Holland*, that Minister represented to Him with a great deal of Prudence, that It was certainly the Interest of the *States*, to undertake the *Guardianship* of the young *Prince*, because They might breed him in such a Manner, as was most consistent with the Good of the *Republic*; and He advised *Monsieur De Wit* to put Himself at the Head of those who should superintend the *Prince's Education*, by which he would have an Opportunity of laying his *Highness* under very great Obligations,

(a) This Letter is dated at *Whitehall*, February the 28th 1663.

by rescuing Him from those Inconveniencies to which he was exposed from the ill Situation of his Affairs, as well as of effacing from his Mind any bad Impressions that He might have received from the *Princess Dowager*. *D' Estrades* added, That He had better make the *Prince* his own, by breeding Him up in a Manner suitable to his Birth, than abandon Him to Others, who would not fail to inspire Him with Sentiments of Revenge, against the Time when He should be able to distinguish the Injury that had been done Him. (a)

This is what Monsieur *D' Estrades* wrote to *Lewis XIV*, and the Event has shewn that He gave the *Grand Pensionary* good Council. But *De Wit* answered, that He was obliged to follow the Opinion of the *Towns* of his *Province*, who He believed were apprehensive of the *Prince's* acquiring too much Power; and the rather, because the People loved Him extreamly. But the Truth is the *Pensionary* was resolved to place his whole Dependance on *Lewis XIV*, and would not trust *Charles II*. in any Respect, tho' that Prince gave Him

(a) *D' Estrades* Memoirs, See his Letter to *Lewis XIV*.
February 22, 1668.

the utmost Marks of his Confidence. From all which Monsieur D' *Estrades* thought He had great Reason to conclude, and to acquaint his Master, that the *House of Orange* was entirely Ruined, and that for the Future, It would be in vain to take any Measures, except with the *States*, or, to speak more properly with Monsieur *DeWit*. (a) We may be sure that the *Pensionary* who was all powerful in *Holland*, took Care to inspire the *States* of that *Province* with his own Sentiments; and accordingly their Answer to *King Charles's* Letter, was dry and formal. They distinguished between the *Prince's Person* and his *Estate*, and promised to take a great deal of Care of his *Lands*, especially those that were situated in *Foreign Countries*, which might be done by giving Orders to their *Embassadors* to act strenuously in his Favour, with the *Kings* of *France* and *Spain*, upon whom his Revenues depended; but They declared that the *Consideration of past Times and Actions, the Constitution of the Republic and several important Reflections that resulted from thence, would not permit them to go any further.* (b) This An-

(a) See D' *Estrades* Letter to the King, the 22d of *March*, 1663.

(b) See the Letter of the *States of Holland* to *Charles II*, dated at the *Hague* April 27, 1663.

swer could not but irritate CHARLES II. and as the Disposition of Monsieur DE WITT and the STATES of HOLLAND towards his Majesty and the HOUSE of ORANGE, are very strongly characterised in the Passages I have just now quoted, from Authorities that are incontestable, This is the Place in which I chuse to distinguish the Motives that might lead CHARLES II. to engage in the War of 1665, which is commonly call'd the *first Dutch War*, from those that induced Him to fall upon the *United Provinces* in 1672.

The *States of Holland* could not have expressed their Hatred of the *Stadtholdership* more effectually than by refusing to superintend the Education of the young *Prince of Orange*, or to joyn their Cares to those of the *King* his *Uncle*, and the *Princess* his *Grandmother* in Order to render Him worthy of the Employments that had been so gloriously excuted by his Ancestors.

But an Aversion for the Concerns and Welfare of the Young *Prince*, was not the only thing to be understood from the Refusal of the *States of Holland*; which implied a great Indifference, if not a Contempt for *Charles II.* and naturally supposed a *Foreign Alliance* and Protection powerful enough to Guarantee the State from the *King of England's* Resentment.

Of

Of all the Powers of *Europe*, FRANCE was the only One, capable of giving the *United Provinces* this Protection, and the *Pensionary* believed He had taken his Measures so well, as to be sure of the Assistance of that *Crown* upon any Emergency. In this dependance, He was not afraid to disoblige the *Uncle* in the *Person* of his *Nephew*; and therefore, If It would have been glorious for *Charles II.*, to have restored the young *Prince* of *Orange* to the Dignities of his Ancestors, It must be owned that It was also the Interest of *England*, to break the Cabal that governed the *Province* of *Holland*, and rescue the *Republic* out of the Hands of LEWIS XIV, who from the Partiality of Monsieur *De Wit*, and the Dexterity of his Embassador *D' Estrades*, was in a Manner absolute Master of the *United Provinces*. OLIVER CROMWEL could not bear a Union of Councils between *France* and *Holland*, and tho' the Memory of this Person be justly hateful amongst us in some Respects, yet I am not afraid to adopt some of his Maxims.

CHARLES II. was sufficiently irritated by the Conduct of *Holland*, to have declared War immediately, against the *United Provinces*; but my Lord *Bristol* having impeached the *Earl* of *Clarendon* of

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High Treason, the Change that followed upon this at Court, and the Cry that was made for *Uniformity* in Religion, by one Part of the Nation, and for *Toleration* by the other, having divided Men's Affections, and kept the *Parliament* so much employ'd with *Domestick* Affairs, as not to have Leisure to attend to the foreign Interests of the Kingdom; his *Majesty* was obliged to smother his Resentment for the present.

But in 1664, the *Parliament* was no sooner met, than our *East-India Company* presented a Petition, representing the Losses They had sustained from the Enterprizes of the *Dutch* in the *East-Indies*; and this being seconded by other Complaints from the *Royal African*, and *Guinea Companies*, the *Parliament* immediately addressed his *Majesty*, complaining in the Name of all the Merchants of *London*, of the several Insults and Losses They had suffered from the *Hollanders*; which being received by the Court, in such a Manner as served to encrease, rather than suppress their Discontent, the *Parliament's* Resentment became so violent, that when the *King* came to put an End to the Sessions, the *Speaker* recommended to his *Majesty* the Interest of the Nation against *Holland*, and the *Parliament* having

having already settled the necessary Funds, the *City of London* lent the KING a *Million*, for the Service of the *Fleet*.

During the Remainder of the Year 1664, several Hostilities were committed by both Parties on the Coast of *Africa*, which served to heighten their Animosity. The *Dutch East-India Company*, complained in their Turn of the Violencies committed by the *English*; upon which, the *States General* resolved to redress their Grievances; and Things being come to such an Extremity, that War with *England* was no longer to be avoided, They gave the necessary Orders for fitting out their *Fleet*, and putting Themselves into a Posture of Defence: They sent at the same Time, an *Embassador extraordinary* to the *Court of France*, who was ordered to represent the Injustice of the Complaints that *England* made against the *Dutch*, to justify the Conduct of the *States General*, to remind LEWIS XIV, of the Alliance He had lately contracted with Them. and to require his Majesty to declare plainly to *Charles II*, that in Consequence of the Engagements He had entered into with the *States General*, He was not only obliged to forbear the Renewal of the Treaty of Friendship which the *King of England* desired with Him, but that He could not even remain in Peace

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with

with *Great Britain*, if his Majesty broke with the *Dutch*. But the little Success that *Van Beuninghen* met with in his Negotiation, made it plain that either *Monfieur De Wit* was the *Dupe* of *D'Estrades*, or that the Latter was Himself imposed upon by his Master, if He imagined his *Most Christian Majesty* had any Intention to comply with the Engagements he had contracted with the *States General*, according to the Letter of the Treaty.

In the Beginning of the Year 1665 the Hostilities that had been committed for some Time, between the *English* and *Dutch* were authorised by a formal Declaration of War. The Duke of *Tork* put to Sea in Quality of *High Admiral*, and the Grand Fleets of *England* and *Holland*, which consisted of above one hundred Sail of the Line, on the Part of each Nation, having met each Other on the 14th of June, a memorable Engagement was fought, in which the *Dutch Admiral* blew up, and the *English* obtained a compleat Victory. (a) The *Dutch Fleet* was chased into the Harbours of *Holland*; and had any

(a) See the Particulars of this Fight in the Compleat History of *England*. Also *Burnet's History* of his own Times. And in *Lord Arlington's Letters*.

Man less indefatigable than Monsieur *De Wit* been at the Head of Affairs; It would have been impossible for It to have put to Sea again that Summer. But this Minister was superior to all Difficulties, and having with incredible Industry repaired the Ships, punished a Part of the Officers who had not performed their Duty, rewarded others, and made the famous RUYTER *Lieutenant Aamiral* and Commander in Chief, in the Place of Monsieur *Opdam*, He resolved to embark on Board the Fleet, notwithstanding all the Opposition of his Friends, some of whom did not stick to Insinuate that he chose rather to expose Himself to the Hazards of the Sea, than to confront the Dangers that threatned Him at Home, from the ill Temper of the People, exasperated against Him by the ill success of the *Fleet*, and the Love they entertained for the House of *Orange*.

The *English Fleet* had likewise put to Sea again before that of the *United Provinces*, but notwithstanding the Ardour of the Commanding Officers, it was impossible for them to join each other; and after having weathered a violent Storm, They were obliged to return Home without coming to a general Engagement. The *Hollanders* however had suffered infinitely more from the

bad Weather than the *English*, who had taken several *Dutch East-India-Men*, before *Ruyter* could put to Sea; and this had exasperated *Monfieur De Wit* to such a Degree that He prevailed with the *States General* to send out their *Fleet* a third Time, which after having made a Cruize, without meeting that of *England*, which then suffered extreamly from the *Plague* that raged in *London*, and many other Parts of the Kingdom, returned to *Holland*, without doing any Thing memorable.

During the *Winter*, several Negotiations were attempted, in order to procure a Peace; but These not having taken Effect, and the *Parliament*, who were zealous for the War, having voted the *King* 120000*l.* for the Service of the *Navy*, the *Fleet* put to Sea early in the Year 1666, under the Command of *Prince Rupert* and the Duke of *Albemarle*.

In the mean Time, the *State* of the *United Provinces*, was really deplorable, as is evident from a Passage in *D' Estrade's* Memoirs, which shews the Interior of the *Province of Holland*. LEWIS XIV, thought the *Republic* Powerful, because It was Rich; and happy, because the People paid their Taxes readily. 'Of all the States of Eu-
' rope,

' rope, says that *Prince*, there goes most Mo-
 ' ney into *Holland*; we see a Fleet arrive
 ' there every Year, Laden with Merchan-
 ' dize to the Value of *two Millions*, which is im-
 ' mediately turned into SPECIE, by the Ne-
 ' cessity the Neighbouring Nations are under
 ' of having those Commodities, and the Mo-
 ' ney is again easily drawn from the Peo-
 ' ple, under the colour of *Liberty*. For
 ' this Reason, says his Majesty, the Princes
 ' of *Orange*, have chosen not to make Them-
 ' selves Masters of the *State* when They
 ' might have done It; because whilst They
 ' remained only *Generals of the Republic*,
 ' They found it very easy under the Pretence
 ' of *Liberty*, to drain the Purse of the Peo-
 ' ple upon any Immergency; whereas, had
 ' They made Themselves Sovereigns, the smal-
 ' est Contribution would have past in the Opi-
 ' nion of the Populace, for an intolerable
 ' Exaction, extorted for the sole Interest,
 ' and Advantage of the Prince. (a)

This was his Majestys way of Reason-
 ing, which appears so much the more
 just, as the *Dutch*, after having lost their
Admiral and twenty three Men of War in the

(a) *D' Estrade's Memoires*, See LEWIS XIV's Letter to
 that Minister, January 1, 1666.

Engagement of 1665, had found the Means to put to Sea again in two Months, with a *Fleet* very little inferiour to the former; and as the Loss, which the *Province of Holland* sustained a little Time after by the Prize of Her *India Men*, did not hinder Her from furnishing forty Millions of *Livres* for the Service of the *Navy* in the ensuing Year.

But Monsieur *D' Estrades*, who knew the *Republic* much better than his *Master*, expresses Himself thus. 'It is impossible, says He, That Holland can furnish forty Millions more for the Service of another Year, without bringing about a Revolution in the Government. I have had an Opportunity of being convinced of this more perfectly within these four Days. That which made the great Plenty of Money subsists no Longer; I mean the Zeal of the Town of Amsterdam to furnish the necessary Sums, for the more immediate Expences of the State. Every Man now Locks up his Money, and those Millions that are produced by Commerce do not circulate as usual. And tho' Those who are at the Head of the Administration, do all They can to conceal this Alteration of Affairs, yet They are in a great deal of Pain about It, as well as for the bad Discipline of their Army, in which

' which They do not know how to take
 ' proper Measures, for want of having a
 ' Person sufficiently qualified at the Head
 ' of It. The *States* are so jealous of their
 ' Authority, and the Title of *Sovereign*,
 ' that They chuse to suffer considerable
 ' Losses, and turn *Generals* Themselves, ra-
 ' ther than employ Those that are capa-
 ' ble of that Function. I observe likewise,
 ' the ill Effects that will in all Probability
 ' follow from the injudicious Assignment of
 ' *Winter Quarters*, as well to your *Majesty's*
 ' *Troops*, as to those of the *Republic*; which
 ' are dispersed into Places where there is
 ' a great Scarcity of *Forage*, and where
 ' Provisions are so dear, that both One
 ' and the Other run a very great Risque of
 ' being starved before the opening of the
 ' *Campagne*. I have made very strong Re-
 ' presentations of all these Inconveniencies;
 ' They confess there wants a Remedy, but
 ' the Redress does not follow. (a)

In another Letter to *Monsieur de Lionne*,
 the *Count D' Estrades* expresses Himself thus.

' Permit me to explain my self. When
 ' I wrote you word that the *Funds* for

(a) See his Answer to the King's Letter, Jan. 7. 1666.

the service of this Year, were settled, It
 was at a Time when all the Towns had
 given their Consent, and that *Amsterdam*
 set an Example to the Rest; but now
 that the opposite *Cabals* do all They can to
 traverse us, that *Amsterdam* draws in her
Horns, and that *De Wit's* Party dimi-
 nishes every Day, the *Funds* are no
 longer to be relied on, and the present
 Administration must certainly fail. The
Assembly of the *States of Holland*, is at
 present composed of four hundred Persons;
 I have invited Them to Dinner and *Mon-*
sieur De Wit has done as much, in Or-
 der to fix Those that were wavering;
 but there is a necessity for being al-
 ways in Action, for if only One or Two
 Towns should refuse to contribute, the
 Revolution would soon be universal, be-
 cause they would certainly be supported
 by some very considerable Persons in
 the State, who are *Monsieur De Wit's* Ene-
 mies. His Majesty's Protection however
 is of very great Weight to his Party.
 (a) It was impossible to represent the *Re-*
public more justly, and accordingly LEWIS

(a) See his Letter to Monsieur de Lionne.

XIV, being convinced of the Capacity and sound Judgment of his *Embassador*, made Answer. ' That if the *Republic* was ' not so powerful as He had imagined Her, ' She was by much too haughty then, ' and had done ill to refuse *England* such ' Terms, as Monsieur *De Wit* ought to have ' acquiesced in, since He was more sensible ' of his own Weakness than any Body ' else.

Such was the State of the *United Provinces*. The Fund necessary for carrying on the War, depended on the Zeal of *Amsterdam*, which was extremely inconstant; and the *Grand Pensionary* was forced to rely on the Patronage of the *King of France*, for the support of his Authority; who did at last declare Himself for the *United Provinces* against *England*. ' This is, says His Majesty, *speaking of that Declaration*, a very great step ' made for the *sole Interest* of the *States*, ' and almost in every Respect *contrary to my own*; GOD send They may remember It, when ' Time shall serve, with a *suitable Gratitude*. (a) Yet the Design of this *Prince*, was no more in Reality, than to irritate the two great

(a) Letter from LEWIS XIV, to Count D' Estrades, January 29, 1666.

Maritime Powers of Europe one against the other, in order to destroy their *Commerce* and agrandise his own Dominions at their Expence.

Notwithstanding the ill State of Affairs in *Holland*, Monsieur DE WIT found Means to put to Sea, a Fleet of eighty three Sail of the Line of Battle, besides *Frigates* and *Bomb Vessels*, of which *Admiral Ruyter* had the Command, and his Orders were to make Sail towards the Coast of *England*, in order to find the *Enemy's Fleet*. He was also to notify his being at Sea to the Governor of *CALAIS*, in order to hasten the Motions of the *French Fleet*, by Which, agreeable to the Assurances given the *States General* by the *Court of France*, He was to be joyned, but the Event made it plain that *LEWIS XIV*, had no such Intentions.

It would require a Volume to describe the Particulars of the several Engagements that were fought this Year between the Fleets of *England* and *Holland*. The first Action lasted from the 11th to the 15th of *June*, and during the three first Days, the *English Fleet* was commanded solely by the *Duke of Albemarle*, *Prince Rupert* having been detached with a Squadron of thirty Ships, to prevent the imaginary Junction of the
French

French Fleet with that of *Holland*. This Detachment, the Effect of false Intelligence, made the *Dutch* superiour in Force, and gave Them an Advantage in this Engagement, which the *English* repaired before the Summer was over, by the entire Defeat of their Fleet; which having been chased into their very Harbours, occasioned violent Emotions in the several *Towns* of *Holland* and *Zealand*. However, by the extream Diligence of Monsieur *De Wit*, the *Fleet* was repaired, and sent to *Sea* again, before the Summer was over; the *English* also kept the *Sea*; but different Accidents having hindred the *Fleets* from coming up with one another for some Time, and the Season proving very tempestuous, the commanding Officers on either Side, thought proper to retire to their own *Ports*, about the Middle of *October*.

This War cost *England* a great many Lives, and was very expensive; the *Kingdom* had suffered extreamly from the *Plague*, and by the *Fire* of *London*, thirteen thousand *Houses* had been reduced to Ashes. *Ireland* was rebellious; a Party in *Scotland* had actually taken up Arms upon a Religious Pretext, and had fought the *King's Forces*, by whom They were defeated indeed, but the *Court* had

had still Reason to apprehend fresh Com-
 motions: Upon which, Those who are
 least willing to allow the Constancy and
 Power of the *English*, are forced to confess,
 that a Course of Calamities equal to Those
 which oppressed *Great Britain* at the Junc-
 ture I am treating of, would have been
 Sufficient to have sunk any other Nation.
 Yet the *Parliament* granted the *King* the
 necessary Supplies, with as much Readiness
 as if all had been well; and when the
Swedish Embassadors, amidst their Compli-
 ments to *Charles II*, seemed to insinuate the
 Necessity of making a Peace with *Holland*,
 the *King* Answered, with a Gallantry pe-
 culiar to Him, ‘ That the *Fire* had only
 ‘ consumed a Parcel of *old Houses*, which
 ‘ Time had already ruined, but that They
 ‘ would soon see *LONDON* rebuilt with
 ‘ greater Magnificence; like old *Rome*,
 ‘ when She exchanged her *Mud Walls*, for
 ‘ *Marble*. He added, That the fire had
 ‘ not done so much Mischief as was Ima-
 ‘ gined, the *Citizens* having saved the best
 ‘ of their Effects, but that which vexed
 ‘ Him most, was that the Wind had been
 ‘ contrary for some Days past, and had
 ‘ hindred his *Fleet* from acting against
 ‘ that of *Holland*. I am, said the *KING*,
 ‘ of as good a Family as *Cromwel* at least,
 ‘ and

‘ and therefore, the *States* ought to send
 ‘ me their Deputies hither, as They did to
 ‘ the *Usurper*; and when I know their
 ‘ Pretentions, a Place may be named for
 ‘ holding a *Congress*.

One would have concluded, from this Answer, that his *Majesty* was very well informed, and that knowing his own Superiority, and how much They wanted the Peace in *Holland*, He was determined to make Them buy It at his own Price; but the Event shewed the Contrary. ENGLAND had hitherto carried on the War with Honour, and had the *King* entered into a Negotiation immediately after the last Victory, He might certainly have concluded a glorious Peace; but this He fatally omitted, and which is worse, He absolutely neglected to make the necessary Provisions for supporting the War with Vigour.

To speak Truth, the Money given by *Parliament* for the Supply of the *Navy*, had been squandered away in loose and voluptuous Pleasures, which reduced the *King* to accept such a Peace as the *French* thought fit to impose upon Him, by the Treaty of *Breda* in July 1667, after the *Dutch* had visited the *Coasts* of *England* without Opposition, and had made that successful
 Attack

Attack upon our Fleet in the River *Medway*, so much to their own Glory, and the Dishonour of *Charles II.*

The following *Alternative* proposed by the Court of *France*, was the Foundation of that PEACE of BREDA. *Either that both Parties should make a general and reciprocal Restitution of all that They had taken from each other during the War, or keep what they were possessed of, and annihilate all further Pretensions.* The latter of the two was chosen, as being the surest, and least liable to Exception, by Virtue of which the *Isle of Poleron* beforementioned, which the *Dutch* had taken from Us during the War, was now confirmed to Them for ever, and by that They became absolute Masters of all the *Cloves* in the *East-Indies*.

VAN BEUNINGHEN, the *Dutch Ambassador* at *Paris*, thought this *Isle* of so great Importance, that He warmly told the Earl of *St. Albans*, and I think impudently enough, that rather than restore It, He Himself would oppose the Resolution of the *States General* tho' there should not be another Man in *Holland* to second Him. The *English* it seems had sowed *Cloves* upon the Island, whilest It was in their Possession, which made it so much the Object of the *Dutch East-India Company*, that They would

would not hear of restoring It; but the very same Reason ought to have obliged *Charles II*, never to have made Peace without It.

By the same Article which gave up the *Isle of Poloron*, That of *Surinam* was likewise relinquished to the *Dutch West-India Company*; The Article of the *Flag* was but loosely worded; the Interest of the *House of Orange*, was utterly neglected; and in short, the Peace being made, *De Wit* thought He could do Nothing more glorious than to annihilate the *Stadtholdership of Holland* for ever, which was done by a Resolution of the *States* of that *Province*, on the 5th of *August 1661*, which is commonly stiled the *Perpetual Edict*. (a)

But tho' the *Treaty of Breda*, had put an End to Hostilities; It was far from restoring a good Intelligence between the two Nations; which Nothing would have done but the Necessity of uniting together, in Order to oppose the ambitious Designs of *LEWIS XIV*, whose Progress in the *Spanish Netherlands*, during the *Congress* at

(a) See Part I. Page 243.

Breda, having alarmed all his Neighbours, the *Triple League* was concluded in 1668, between *England*, *Sweden*, and the *United Provinces*, and this brought on the *Peace of Aix la Chapelle*, which saved the Remainder of *Flanders* from falling into the Hands of *France*.

As *CHARLES II*, had in a great Measure regained the Confidence of his Subjects, by the Conclusion of the *Triple League*, so the Share He had in making the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*, recovered the Reputation He had lost Abroad, by the Treaty of *Breda*. And as the *Dutch* were now very justly allarmed with the ambitious Designs of *Lewis XIV*, and of Consequence very desirous to maintain a perfect Friendship with *England*, if this Disposition had been well cultivated, on the Part of *Charles II*, It is highly probable that He might have brought the *States General* into his Dependance, and have prevailed with the *States of Holland*, to reverse the Resolutions They had taken to the prejudice of the *Prince of Orange*. But instead of pursuing these Measures, He unhappily fell into Engagements with *Lewis XIV*, that were at once directly opposite to those He had entered into by Virtue of the *Triple Alliance*, as well as inconsistent with his own Honour,

Honour, the Good of his Kingdom, and the Welfare of Europe in General.

In 1670, LEWIS XIV, sent the DUTCH-
 CHESSE of ORLEANCE to *Dover*, where
 She had an Interview with the *King* her
Brother, and then It was that *Charles II*,
 was engaged, not only to break the *Tri-
 ple League*, but even to attack the *United
 Provinces* in Conjunction with *Lewis XIV*:
 Few Persons are ignorant of the Particu-
 lars of the War, which was accordingly
 declared against the *States General*, by
France and *England*, in 1672. It was up-
 on this Occasion that my *Lord Chancellor
 Shaftsbury*, in a famous Speech in the
House of Lords, applied the *Delenda Carthago*,
 to the *Republic* of the *United Provinces*, and
 gave It as his Opinion, that the *Dutch*
 were not only to be humbled, but total-
 ly destroy'd. The *Court* published, that
 the *English* were to have *Holland* and
Zealand, when They should be conquered;
 but this the *French* deny entirely; nor in-
 deed, did *Lewis XIV*, or his General the
Duke of Luxemburg make any Step, whilst
 in *Holland*, that looked like putting the
 Places conquered in that *Province*, into the
 Hands of the *English*; so that had the
 Projects of the two *Kings* succeeded accor-
 ding to their wish, It is to be presumed,
 No 2 that

that *Charles II*, would have found Himself, the *Dupe* of the *French King's* Policy, after having been the Instrument of his Ambition. But the *Parliament*, justly apprehensive of the growing Power of *France*, obliged the *King* to make a separate Peace with the *Dutch* in 1674, which being done, his *Majesty* offered his Mediation, for concluding One between *France* and the *United Provinces*, with the other Powers that had taken Part in the War; but his Mediation having produced no Effect, the *Parliament* addressed the *King*, in 1667, with a great deal of Earnestness, begging that his *Majesty* would please to interest Himself more effectually for putting a Stop to the Progress of the *French Arms*, and for the Safety of the *Spanish Netherlands*; ' In the ' Preservation and Security of which, They ' humbly conceived the Interest of his *Majesty*, and the Safety of his *People* were ' highly concerned; and therefore, They ' most humbly besought Him, to take the ' same into his *Royal Care*, and to strengthen ' Himself with such stricter Alliances as ' might secure his *Majesty's* Kingdoms, preserve the said *Spanish Netherlands*, and ' thereby quiet the Minds of his *People*. (a)

(a) See the Journal of the House of Commons, 1667.

The *Lords* concurred with the *Commons* in this Address, which was followed by six more to the same Purpose, and enforced with such vigorous Resolutions, that the *King* found Himself obliged, notwithstanding the Hazard He ran of losing the *French King's* Friendship, to conclude a defensive Alliance with the *States General*, in *January* 1678, which was succeeded by Another in *March*, and a Third in *July* following, which together brought on the Peace of *Nimeghen* in the Month of *August* of the same Year; and This was the last Treaty of Consequence in which *England* interfered with the Interest of the *United Provinces*, during the rest of *Charles* the *Second's* Reign, with whom I shall end my Deduction of the *Alliances* that have been formed between the *Kings of England* and the *States General*; the View we have taken of the Transactions of the several Reigns already considered, joyned to a Knowledge of the present State of *Great Britain* and the *United Provinces*, being sufficient to instruct us, what are the real Interests of the two *Nations*. how They interfere, and what Proportion their Forces and Power bear to each other.

We have seen *QUEEN ELIZABETH* refuse the *Sovereignty* of the *United Provinces*, because She would not hazard a War with *Philip II*, nor engage the Honour of the *Crown* in the Maintainance of a Point, which as Things then stood, might have proved a greater Charge to Her, than *England* was equal to. But She lent Them considerable Sums, which her own Frugality enabled her to spare, and at the same Time exacted such Pledges as might serve to secure the *Gratitude* of her new *Allies* if successful, or to appease and oblige *Spain*, by a well timed Surrendry, had that *Crown* been able to have reduced the *revolted Provinces* to their former Obedience.

JAMES I, should not have parted with the *Cautionary Towns*; which were no sooner restored, than the *Dutch*, unsatisfied with their own large Share of *Commerce*, and forgetful of past Obligations, began to undermine the Trade of *England*; omitting no Sort of foul Play to bring about their Design, in which They persisted with Impunity, during the rest of this *King's* inglorious Reign, and all that of his unfortunate Successor.

The War between *England* and *Holland* in *Cromwel's* Time, was begun and ended with a View to the *Protector's* personal Interest.
Had

Had *Cromwel* entered into It for the sake of *Trade*, and persisted in It, 'till He had procured us a Share in the *Commerce* of the *fine Spices*, and settled Us upon an equal Footing with the *Dutch*, in the *East-Indies*, He would have done his Country an inestimable Service. Nor was there any Danger in humbling *Holland* at this Time, because the *Ballance* of Power was not yet so much broke between *France* and *Spain*, as to make the Welfare of the *United Provinces*, necessary to the Preservation of the *Spanish Netherlands*.

But *Cromwel* assisted to destroy this *Balance*, by declaring against *Spain*; and It was so much broke at the *Restoration*, that I fear *CHARLES II*, is not to be excused for entering into the *first Dutch War*; but we cannot own this, without reflecting on the immoderate Ambition of *John De Wit*, and his cruel Treatment of the *House of Orange*, which certainly contributed to force *Charles II*, into the Arms of *France*.

During the Reign of this Prince, the Sentiments of *England*, concerning our Interest with the *United Provinces*, were divided into Extreams. The *Courtiers* considered Them as our great Rivals in *Trade*, and *maritime Power*; It was said, there

could be no compounding where the Contest was for the *Commerce of the whole World*, and from hence They concluded, that either *England* or *Holland* must be destroy'd. The Country Party on the other Hand, looked upon Them as our best Friends, or as Mr. Waller phrases It, *Our Out-Guard on the Continent*, They believed the Security of the *Dutch* essential to our own, and were zealous to promote their Power, without being in the least concerned about the *Rivalship* so much insisted upon by the other Side.

At the *Revolution*, the Interest of *England* did really become the same with that of the *United Provinces*, and had *WILLIAM III.* left Children behind Him, our *Princes* must have been *hereditary Stadtholders*, of six of the *United Provinces*, which in Time would have brought on such a *Coalition*, as was projected by *Oliver Cromwel*.

The *French War* continued to make a *Union of Councils* between the two Nations very necessary, 'till the Power of *France* was reduced, and the Security of the *Netherlands* provided for, in the Manner It is by the *Barrier Treaty* of 1715, and there are some general Points, which still continue to make a good Understanding essential

sential to the Happiness of either People; such as the Interest of the *Protestant Religion* and the several *Guarantees* into which the *Dutch* are entered, in Conjunction with *Great Britain*, as well with Respect to our foreign Interests, as our Domestick Affairs, the Principal of which are the *Succession* of the *Crown* in our present *Royal Family*; and the Renunciation made by the present *King of Spain*, to the *Crown of France*, at the Treaty of *Utrecht*. Yet I will venture to say, there is not that *Sameness of Interests* between the two Nations, that subsisted from the *Revolution* to the *Peace of Utrecht*, and I hope we are now in a Temper to receive a middle Doctrine, between the two Extreams that reigned during the Time of *CHARLES II.* The *DUTCH* are our Rivals in *TRADE* and *NAVIGATION*, yet They must not be destroy'd; They are really our *OUTGUARD* upon the *CONTINENT*, and yet we may do too much for Them.

The only great Points of Commerce in which the *Dutch* exceed the *English*, are *Navigation*, the *East-India Trade*, and the several *Sea Fisheries*. The first, is owing to the cheapness of their *Freight*, and this proceeds from the advantageous Trade they drive with *Germany* and the *Baltick*, by which They are supplied with *Timber*, and all sorts of
Naval

naval Stores cheaper than the *English*; to which must be added, their parsimonious Method of Living, a Point in which our Countrymen will never equal Them; and therefore We cannot think of making the *Exchange of Commodities*, between the *Northern and Southern Parts of Europe*, by *English Ships*, unless We should first resolve, to make Use of the present vast Superiority of our *naval Force*, to ruin the *Province of Holland* entirely, which it would be Cruelty to think of.

As to the *East-India Trade*, the *English* have certainly Reason to envy *Holland* the Monopoly of the *fine Spices*; and tho' I will not pretend to say, that We ought to make Use of our present Superiority, to wrest any of the *Spice Islands* from the *Dutch*, which however would be returning the same Usage We have received from Them when They were Strongest, yet there may perhaps be Places in the same *Latitude* with the *Molucca Islands*, which They are not yet possessed of, and where the *English* might settle, and plant the *fine Spices*. Such a Design is not at all unworthy the utmost Consideration of our *East-India Company*, and it cannot be doubted but the *Crown* would be very ready to countenance
an

an undertaking, which would render the *East-India Trade*, of infinite Advantage to the Nation.

As to the *Herring, Cod, and Whale Fisheries*, from which the *Dutch* are supposed to derive as great a Profit as They do from their *East-India Trade*, We have the Pleasure to see the Last of Them undertaken to very great Advantage by our *South-Sea Company*; and for the *Cod Fishery*, I own, I hope never to see it in the Hands of any particular set of Men, because it would be infinitely profitable to the Nation in General, and may be undertaken by private Adventurers with a Certainty of Success.

There is no Secret in the *Salting of Cod*, and our *Merchants* that inhabit the *Northern Coasts of England*, lie full as well as the *Dutch*, for sending their Vessels to the *Dogger-Bank*, and would have this Advantage over Them, *That the best Bait in the World for Cod, is to be found no where in so great Quantities as in England; I mean the Fish called a Lamprey, of which the Dutch buy up from our inland Fishermen all that they can possibly procure.*

The *Herring Fishery* is of far greater Consequence than the former. I will not pretend to enter into the Famous Question, *Whether the Sea is free or not*, because I could not
hope

hope to say any Thing new upon a Subject that has employed the two best Pens of the last Age; (a) but I will set down what I know of the Manner in which the *Dutch* carry on this Trade, which may possibly be of some Service to those who may hereafter undertake it in *Great-Britain*.

I have already spoken of the Number of *Busses* that the *Dutch* employ in the *Herring Fishery*. (b) They are fitted out in the Month of *May*, and are obliged by an Ordinance of the *States General*, not to cast their Nets before the 24th. of *June*, the Reason of which I take to be, that the *Sholes* may not be broke, before all the *Busses* are got together; which would be equally prejudicial to the Public, as advantageous to those who had the good Luck to be first upon the Coast of *Scotland*.

On the 24th. of *June*, new Stile, they begin to fish on the *North-West Coast* of *Scotland*, with Nets that are excessively long and deep, and the Reader may easily figure to Himself, the vast Havock that is made by seven or eight hundred *Busses*,

(a) *Selden* and *Grotius*, See *Mare clausum*, and *Mare liberum*

(b) See Part 2, Page 268.

which

which cast their Nets close to One Another, amongst Fish that swim in *Sholes* like the young Fry in our fresh Water Rivers.

The Moment the Net is drawn, Part of the Crew set about cutting the *Herrings*, which pass from their Hands into Others, that pack them up as quick as possible with *French Salt* & Pickle, into clean Casks which are instantly stowed away in the Hold.

The first *Herrings* that are taken, are immediately dispatched for *Holland*, on Board small vessels that attend the *Busses* with Provisions, and are sold at extravagant Prices; the People of Fashion are as fond of them, as we are of *Mackerel* in the beginning of the Season, and when They come to be plentiful the common People eat Them with Greediness, and believe them a Specific for whatever Distemper They are troubled with.

When the *Busses* have caught a sufficient Quantity They make what Sail they can to *Holland*, where They are unloaded and refitted for the Sea in a few Days. In the mean Time, the *Herrings*, which are said to make an annual Tour round the Island of great *Britain*, are considerably advanced; and constant Experience has taught the

the *Dutch* where to fall in with Them with as much Certainty as at first.

Whilst the *Busses* are out upon their second Voyage, their Proprietors are not idle in *Holland*, where the *Herrings* are taken out of their *Sea-Package*, put into large Tubs with fresh Salt and Pickle, and repacked into Casks for Exportation.

This is the History of the *Herring Fishery* in little, which is attended with all those Advantages I have mentioned in the second Part of this Book. (a) As to what is said of a particular Secret amongst the *Dutch* in the Manner of Salting their *Herrings*, I believe it a Chimera, the whole Art consisting in an extream Neatness in all the Materials used in the Manufactory, and in curing the *Herrings* as soon as They are taken, or if I may use the Expression, in killing them with the very Salt with which They are pickled, before the Air and Sun have made any impression upon Them.

It is incontestable that the *Herring Fishery* may be carried on to very great Advantage by the People of *England* and *Scotland*, did They apply Themselves to It in the same

(a) See Part II. Page 266.

Manner with the *Dutch*, which was lately attempted by a *Fishing Company* in *Scotland*, who took a Subscription in the Year 1720, built Vessels in Imitation of the *Dutch Busses* and had People, Nets and Utensils from *Holland*: Yet the Attempt was attended with so little Success, that I am informed the *Company* have some Time since sold off their *Busses*, and other Materials.

The common Methods of *Fishing* practised by the Inhabitants of *Scotland*, is in small open Boats where the *Herrings* are exposed to the Sun till the Boat is fully loaded, and are consequently so much heated before They are brought on Shore that They become unfit to take Salt, which is the true Reason of the great Disparity between the *Scotch* and *Dutch Herrings*.

Another Disadvantage that arises from the smallness of the *Scotch Fishing Boats* is their being unable to follow the *Herrings*, when the Wind is so tempestuous as to force them out of the *Shallows*, into deep Water; whereas the *Dutch* keep the Sea in all Weathers, by which They often have the *Herrings* to Themselves; and if We may believe the *Scotch*, They are frequently so malicious, as to run in close upon the Coast, even after They have taken their own Cargoes, on purpose
to

to break the *Sholes* and interrupt the *Scotch Fishermen*, which it is very easy to do from the Superiority of their Vessels.

Why *England* has neglected to improve this *Fishery*, can be owing to nothing but the Necessity We have been under of living in perfect Friendship and Harmony with the *Dutch*, for forty Years past; nor will I presume to say when it may be our Interest to assert the Right of our Coast, to the prejudice of the *Hollander*; but I will venture to observe, that it is a very great Happiness to have so great a Resource as the *Herring Fishery* in our Power, which may be an excellent Nursery for *Seamen*, and give Employment to our Poor, in that Time, when from the Improvements that may be made in other Nations, there may come to be a less Demand for our *Manufactures* than at present, which may perhaps deserve to be a little more thought of than it is, even at this Juncture.

These are the principal Points in which the Interests of *Great Britain* and *Holland*, interfere with each other. There are many other Articles however of an inferiour Nature that may deserve Consideration. Of These, I shall take the Liberty to mention, *Linnen, Slit Deals, and Wainscot Boards*, the first of which we import from *Holland*, in
vast

vast Quantities, very much to the Prejudice
 of the People of *Ireland*, who I am told,
 expect that we should make some Alteration
 for the Promotion of a *Manufactory* amongst
 Them, which is perhaps the only One We
 can encourage in that Kingdom without
 great Prejudice to Ourselves. But it can-
 not be expected that *England* should make
 such a Step, whilst They themselves con-
 tinue wantonly to import great Quantities
 of *Dutch Linnen*, tho' they have so good of
 their own. The Importation of *Deals* and
Wainscot Boards into *England*, proceeds from
 an *Act* of *Parliament*, which forbids the Use
 of *Sawing Mills* within such a Dimension;
 and tho' I would not be thought Guilty
 of presuming to oppose my Sentiments to
 those of the Legislature, yet if there be any
 Truth in the Proverb, that says, *A Penny*
saved is a Penny got, and if it be true that
Numbers of People make the Riches of a Coun-
try, then surely We ought to encourage all
Machines that serve to rescind Labour, which
 is in Effect to multiply our Inhabitants, None
 of whom ought to be idle, whilst there re-
 mains a Piece of *Waste Land* in *England*,
 a *River* choaked up that may be made Na-
 vigable, or even a *Ditch* neglected, that might

be improved into a *Canal*, in Order to reduce the Price of *Transportation*, which is so heavy a Clog upon *Commerce*.

I come now to close this Book with observing something concerning Negotiations with the STATES GENERAL, which from the Diversity of Domestick Interests in the *United Provinces* are perhaps more difficult at the HAGUE than in any other Court of *Europe*.

It is the Interest of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Frize-land* and *Groninghen*, to have great *Fleets*, that may secure their *Commerce*, and contest the Dominion of the *Sea* with *ENGLAND*, or any other Maritime Power; whereas *Gelder-land* and *Overyssel*, which make the *Frontier* of the *United Provinces*, depend on the Goodness of their Fortifications, and the Strength of their *Army*; and as for *Utrecht*, tho' it be an *Inland Province*, yet It has been seldom known to dissent from *Holland*, which with the Other *Maritime Provinces*, is very hardly brought into a Resolution to contribute for the Expence of the *Fortifications* and the *Army*, the best Posts of which are enjoyed by the Nobility of *Gelderland* and *Overyssel*, whilst These are equally backward to give Money for the *Protection* of *Commerce*, in the Welfare of which they are no farther concerned, than may enable the *Province*

vince of *Holland* to pay that very large Proportion which She is obliged to furnish for the Support of the whole.

The Reader will easily imagine that *Public Ministers* find It hard to conciliate such a Variety of Interests, which together with the *Unanimity required by the Constitution of the Republic in all Affairs relating to Peace and War*; is the Cause, that *Negotiations* with their *High Mightinesses*, always run very slow; and I believe there is no Method to cure this, except taking Resolutions in *Conjunction* with the *Province of Holland*, separately from the Rest.

This, indeed, is very seldom practised; but *Holland* will sometimes venture upon It, and when constant to her own Resolution, has never failed to bring over her *Sister Provinces*. Nor will This appear strange, when we consider, that She alone pays, as I have observed above, near *fifty eight per Cent.* of the whole Expences of the *Republic*; (a) so that it is easy to *Negotiate* with the *United Provinces*, when the *Grand Pensionary of Holland* is a Person of such Authority, as to be able to answer for his *Province*, which *John De Wit* could always do; But when this Minister proves to be a Man of common Abilities and mode-

(a) See Part I. Page 135.

rate Credit, there is no Expedient so good in Order to come to a quick Decision, as to apply to the City of *Amsterdam*. I have been informed, that this Town alone, hindred the *States General* from acceding to the *Quadruple Alliance*: But be that as it will, 'tis certain She has the same Superiority over the Towns of *Holland*, that *Holland* has over the other *Provinces*, and consequently a Negotiation would succeed better at the *Hague*, when the principal Points of It had been adjusted with the *Regents* of *Amsterdam*: wherefore I have often wondered that the KING of PRUSSIA, should be the only Prince in *Europe*, who entertains a *Resident* there; the Rest having only *Agents*, little capable of any Negotiation of Importance.

Another Reason why the *maritime Powers* of *Europe* should employ Ministers of the second Order, or *Consuls* at least with the SENATE of AMSTERDAM, is that this City is the chief Seat of the *Dutch East-India Company*, which is known to be Mistress of so Prodigious a Power, that She may almost boast an *Independant Sovereignty*, nor does She stick to make *By-Laws* in the *Indies*, altogether inconsistent with the *Treaties* of Commerce entered into by the *States General* in *Europe*.





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